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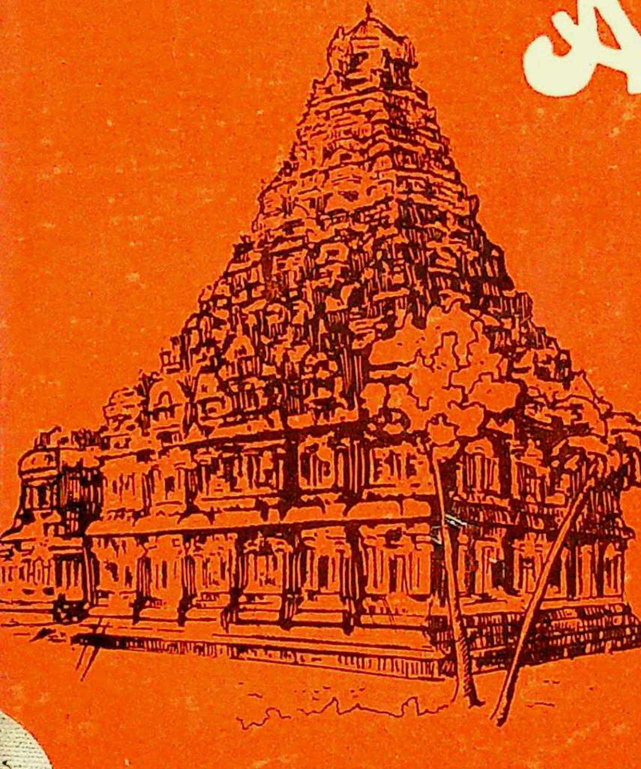

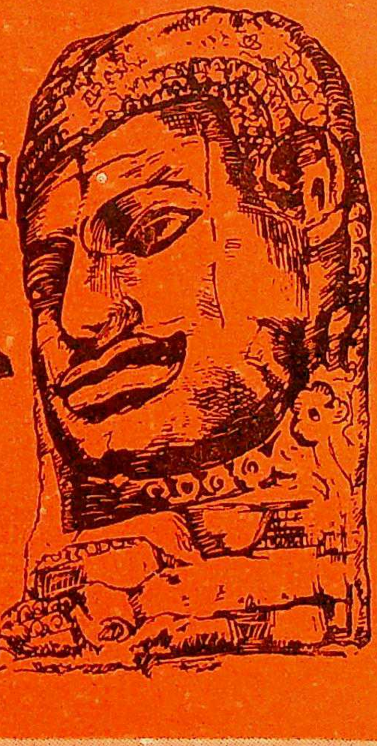

R.C.Majumdar

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R.C. Majumdar

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Editor's Note

Prof. Majumdar, the nonagenerian lion of our country is fearless, forthright and outspoken historian of our times. He handles with ease and felicity historical and allied subjects, whether it be ancient, mediaeval or modern; epigraphy, language, literature, art or philosophy. He has held the field unchallenged for decades and there are very few historians to equal him. He is a prolific writer, having produced more than a score of books and innumerable research papers and reviews, in English and Bengali, both. However, his forte is South East Asia.

The present volume, a sequel to his earlier *Studies in Political History of India*, contains nineteen select papers of Prof. Majumdar dealing with the cultural and political relations of the Indian mainland with the far flung settlements in South-East Asia. The papers which are not now readily available to scholars from the cream of his writings on this part of the world encompassing the ancient kingdoms of Śrī-Vijaya. Kambuja, Champā, Srikehshetra, etc. The papers are arranged in a topographical sequence beginning with Śrī-Vijaya and ending with Sukhodaya traversing through Kambuja, Malay, Śrīkehsetra, Champā, etc.

The subject is introduced with a bird's eye view of 'Greater India' (by for quite sometime which name these kingdoms have been known to historians) in its several aspects *viz.*, geographical, political and cultural (**1**, **2** and **3**). The Śailendras af Srī-Vijaya were a power to be rockoned with and they came into conflict with the Cholasi, rather the Cholas of Tamil Nadu in their zeal for conquest and spread of their, Culture, lead naval expeditions to these overseas countries. The conflict between these two powerful kingdoms is graphically portrayed. An interesting fact of the Chola invasion of Sri-Vijaya is that Rajendra Chola led two expeditions as against the traditional view of a single one held by Prof Śastri. In another paper Majumdar has tried to show that the Chola supremacy over the kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya was transitional and the Śailendras continued to holds way in their countries long after the Cholas had withdrawn (**4**, **5**, **6** and **7**).

Regarding the evolution of Indo-Javanese and Indo-Sumatran art, Prof. Majumdar discerns two definite trends; the eariler period heavily barrowing from the Gupta tradition and the latter involving the impact the Palas style (**8**). In the social sphere the Hindu Colonists of the Far Eastern countries attempted a deliberate introduction of their native customs and manners, but this met with little success. On the other hand, the Laws Java and Bali, were mainly based on the Indian *Dharmaśāstras* and *Srutis* with adaptations to suit local customs and manners. Prof. Majumdar has examined a dozen available law books and has proved that they are based mostly on the Indian Law givers, particularly Manu, (**9** and **10**).

Discussing the date of accession of Jayavarman II he has explained on epigraphical data how this Jayavarman could not have ruled for nearly ninety years and has fixed his date of ascending the throne in the beginning the 9th century A.D.

Kambuja epigraphy has been favourite subject with Majumdar. He has edited and published many sanskrit inscriptions of this country. Here (**12**) he has analysed the epigraphical sources to delineate the early phases of religious ideas, the religious tolerance as evidenced by the prevalance of Śaivisim, Vishuism and Buddhism; the social status of Indian colonists who never occupied low rank or position and whose progeny through mixed marriage with local people bore only Indian names. He is of the view that an analysis of the personal names found in the inscriptions of persons of social rank or occupations would throw much desired light on the degree of Indianisation. (**12**).

There is a tradition among the Malays of Minankaban that their forefathers came from India. Analysing the view of Schimdit, Przyluski, Thomson, Bloch, Lévi, as also of Krom, Hutton, Hornell, etc., Majumdar postulates that because o linguistic and racial affinities the first phase of Indian migrations must have taken place before the Aryan or Dravidian conquest of India. There is also a possibility of prehistoric migrations of Austronesian tribes from India to Malaysia.

Srikshetra is the earliest Hindu colonial kingdom and from here Hindu Culture travelled to other countries in the Far East (**14**).

The epics Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata are held in high esteem and expounded in public even today in India. The colonists transplanted these epics to the new lands where these epics caught the imagination of the local people and there grew a vast literature, drama and these themes were also represented in sculptural friezes, sometimes with local variations. Indeed there is an inscription of king Devānika extolling the virtues of Kurukshetra; the verses being adaptations from the Mahābhārata itself (**15** and **16**). The rise of the kingdom of Sukhodaya is dealt separately. (**17**). At the end are two papers dealing with the spread of Buddhism, and Sanskrit in literature, indigenous texts, loan words in local languages, inscriptions in the Far East etc., (**18** and **19**).

These represent only a microcosm of Majumdar's versatality, his zeal for research, and dauntless spirit to write whatever he thinks right. His writings are based on original sources only. Today he has stepped into his ninety-first year of birth. On this occasion we would like to place this compilation as a humble homage at the feet of a great *āchārya*.

New Delhi —K.S. RAMACHANDRAN
4th December, 1978

Abbreviations

ABIA—Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Kern Institute, Leyden.

Bull. Com. Arch. Indo China—Bulletin de la commission Archaeologique de l 'Indochine.

BEFEO—Bulletin de l 'Ecole Francaise D 'Extreme-Orient, (Hanoi).

BKI—Bijdragen tot ḍe taal—, land-en Volkenkunde van Hederlandsch—Indie, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal—, land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie.

Coedes-Textes—Textes d'auteurs Grecs et Latins relatifs a l 'Extreme—Orient depuis le IV siecle Av. J.C. jusqu 'au XIV siecle. Recueillis et traduits par George Coedes (Paris—Earnest Leroux, 1910).

Crawfurd Dictionary—A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent countries by John Crawfurd, London (1856).

EC—Epigraphia Indica.

Epi. Ind.—Epigraphic Indica.

Ferrand-Textes—Relations de Voyages et Textes Geographiques Arabes, Persans et Turks relatifs a l'Extreme—Orient du VIII au XVIII siecles by Gabriel Ferrand, 2 Vols. (Paris—Ernest Leroux 1913-14).

Groeneveldt-Notes—Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese Sources by W.P.

Groeneveldt. V.B.G. Vol. XXXIX, Part I. (Batavia, 1877).

IHQ—Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta).

Ind. Ant.—Indian Antiquary.

I-tsing-Memoire—Memoire compose a l'epoque de la grande dynastie T'ang sur les Religieux Empnents qui allerent chercher la loi dans les pays d'occident par-I-Tsing. Trans-lated by E. Chavannes (Paris 1894).

JA—Journal Asiatique.

JASB—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1865-1904).

JBORS—Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

JGIS—Journal of the Greater India Society.

JIH—Journal of Indian History.

J.Mal. Br. RAS—Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiastic Society.

Jonker-Wetboek—Een Oud—Javvansch Wetboek vergeleken met Indische Rechtesbronnen by J.C.G. Jonker (Leiden, 1885).

JRAS—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

JSS—Journal of Siam Society.

J Str. Br. RAS—Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Kempers—*The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu Javanese Art* by Dr. A.J. Bernet Kempers (Leiden). (Originally published as an article in *BKI*, Vol. 90, pp. 1-88).

KO—*Kawi Oorkonden in Facsimile* Met Inleiding en Transcriptic by Dr. A.G. Cohen Stuart (Leiden, 1975).

Krom—Geschiedenis—Hindoe—Javaansche Geschiedenis by Dr. N.J. Krom (Martinus Nijhoff, Hague, 1926). The second Edition (1931) is indicated by Krom-Geschiedenis

Not. Bat. Gen.—Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuurs-vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Westenschappen.

OJO—Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden. Nagelaten Transcripties van Wijlen Dr. J.L.A. Brandes. Uitgegeven door Dr. N.J. Krom; V.B.G. Vol. LX. (Batavia and the Hague, 1913).

OV—Oudheidkundig Verslag (Rapporten van den Oudheidkundig Dienst in Nederlandsch Indie, Series I, 1912-1919: Series II. 1920 etc.)

SII—South Indian Inscriptions.

TBG—Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (1853 ctc.), Batavia.

VBG--Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia.

VG—Verspreide Geschriften van Prof. Dr. H. Kern.

1

Greater India

The subject of my discourse 'Greater India' is an expression of recent origin. It was practically unknown, at least seldom used, as embodying a definite historical conception, a half a century ago. But slowly the idea is gaining ground that a study of Indian history and civilization would be incomplete unless we take into consideration the very distinguished part that the Indians played in moulding the history and civilization of vast regions in the continent of Asia which lie beyond the Himalayas and the sea. Indeed we are now painfully conscious of the great injustice done to Indian civilization by the early writers who attributed to it a character of isolation and detachment. I still recollect to have read in my school days in the Matriculation text-book of history that shut up by mountains and seas India developed a unique civilization, neither influencing nor being influenced by its neighbours. Not long ago an esteemed friend of mine, with high academic distinctions, expressed the view that the chief glory of India lies in the fact that unlike Muhammadan and Christian civilizations, it has never troubled itself with the domains of others, but ever rested content with its own, and he quoted the verse of the *Gita* "*svadharma nidhanam śreyaḥ paradharmobhayāvahaḥ*" as embodying the spirit of Indian civilization.

How little such views really represent the true character of Indian civilization have been amply demonstrated by the stern and undeniable facts of history. It has now been satisfactorily established, on the basis of evidence which has passed even the ordeal of European scepticism, that far from occupying an isolated position apart from the rest, India played almost the same part in the east as Greece and Rome had done in the west. This subject is too vast to be adequately dealt with in a single lecture but I shall adduce a few facts in support of what might appear to many to be a novel and startling proposition.

We shall begin with India's relations with the western countries. It is unnecessary to refer at length to the well-known mass of evidence, both Indian and foreign, which proves that from times immemorial regular trade was carried on between India and western Asia and Egypt. Such commercial relationship inevitably leads to a cultural contact, but fortunately we have more positive evidence in this direction. The monumental discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjodaro leave no doubt about a cultural intercourse between India and the western countries more than four thousand years ago. Reference may also be made to the well-known Boghaz-Kuei inscriptions which mention the names of several well-known Vedic deities. The exact bearing of these inscriptions upon the nature of relationship between India and the western world is still a matter of dispute, but it may be asserted with some degree of confidence that they indicate an exchange of ideas and assimilation of culture between India and western Asia about 1400 B.C.

Some scholars have traced a contact between India and the western empires of the Assyrians and the Babylonians, but it must be admitted that the evidence is indirect and not unoften of doubtful character. With the Persian empire which succeeded them, we stand on a firmer ground. In addition to a brisk trade both by land and sea, there was undoubtedly an intimate cultural contact between India on the one hand and the vast regions comprised within Persia on the other. It is of great interest to note in this connection that part of the Punjab was conquered by the Persian Emperor and that Indian soldiers fought for Persia on the battle-fields of Greece along with other Asiatic races. When Alexander the Great overthrew this Persian empire and extended the border of the Greek empire up to the Punjab, the east and the west became more intimately acquainted with each other than ever before. The reciprocal cultural influence between India and Greece is a matter of common knowledge though the extent and nature of it still form subjects of discussion.

With the Greek sovereigns of Asia and Africa who inherited the vast dominions of Alexander, Indian kings were on terms of closest intimacy. The Greek ambassadors from Syria and Egypt resided at the Court of Pataliputra while the religious missions of Aśoka visited western Asia, Egypt and eastern Europe. The influence of this intercourse is perceptible in the development of art and literature in India and religion and literature in western countries. That Christianity owed something to the Indian thought is no longer doubted, though opinions naturally vary as to the extent of the Indian influence. The fact, however, remains that Buddhism was spread in western Asia before the Christian era. This not only follows from Aśoka's inscriptions but also from the statement of Alberuni "that in former times Khurasan, Persia, Iraq, Mosul and the country up to the frontiers of Syria were Buddhistic." We have, however, evidence that Brahmanic faith was also spread in those countries. We learn from the Syrian writer Zenob that two Indian chiefs, rebelling unsuccessfully against their king led westwards with their clan and found writer with Valarsaces the first Arsacid monarch of Armenia (149-127 B.C.). Valarsaces gave them the canton of Taron (upper Euphrates, west of lake Van) and there they founded a town and set up replicas of the idols they had worshipped in India. Fifteen years later the Indian chiefs were killed by the king of Armenia. Their sons, however, continued to hold the canton of Taron, and they erected two temples to their gods Gisane and Demetr which soon became the sacred seat and the rallying point of the clan. About the year 304 A.D. St. Gregory appeared before these temples in the course of his idol-smashing tour through Armenia. At first he was unsuccessful but he soon secured re-inforcements. Desperate battles were fought and the Indians were overpowered, although their leaders exhibited courage worthy of heroes. The Indians implored that their idols might be spared. Six priests fell at the temple door and another died under torture without revealing the treasury of the temple. The Christians then proceeded to break up the copper statues of the gods which were of 12 to 15 cubits high. The temples were razed to the ground, and on the site of Demetr's temple St. Gregory erected a church, while a wooden cross marked the place where Gisane's idol had stood. More than 5,000 idolators submitted to baptism, and 438 persons, the sons of priests or temple-servants, who remained obdurate, had their heads shaved and were transported to Phaitakaran, near the shores of the Caspian.

Of the two Indian Gods in the above statement Gisane seems to be almost certainly a corruption of Kṛishna. We thus find a number of Indian followers of Kṛishna cult settled in Armenia about 150 years before the birth of Christ. As Kennedy remarks, the westward migration of these Indians, although the earliest we know of, cannot have been the first of its kind.[1] The number of these followers in 300 A.D. was more than 5,000 and the influence of this community on the religious ideas of the locality must have been considerable.

In view of the fact that both Brahmanical and Buddhist cults existed in Syria at the time when Christianity arose, it is difficult to believe that neither of these ancient faiths had considerable influence on the rise and development of this new cult. One of the latest writers on the subject, while rejecting extreme claims in favour of Indian influence, admits that the immense popularity of asceticism and the extravagant forms it assumed in the Thebaid may very well be traced to the stories of Indian *Saṃnyasins* and *Śramans* which are so prominent in early orthodox Christian literature. He also suggests that the relic-worship and the use of the rosary were possibly due to Indian influence. The same writer also acknowledges that great debt the semi-Christian sects and heresies owed to India. Manicheism borrowed Buddhist ideas, and gnosticism together with its later offshoots, shows distinct traces of Hindu influence. Its doctrine of the plurality of heavens is essentially Indian and its three qualities resemble the three *gunas* of the *Sānkhya* system. Origen (185) A.D., the most learned and original of the early church fathers, and perhaps the noblest figure of them all, believed in metempsychosis. Reference may also be made in this connection to the very close resemblance in essential characteristics between the Christian Church and the old Buddhist *caityas*.

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[1] *JRAS.*, 1904, p. 309.

The intercourse between India and the west continued after the rise of Christianity. During the first four or five centuries of the Christian era the trade and commercial activity between India and the western countries was at its height. The Greek author of *the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, visited India in the first century A.D., and found Indian coasts studded with harbours, from which merchant vessels sailed to Persia, Arabia, Africa and Red Sea ports. Some historians were so much obsessed by the present day conditions of India that even the detailed account of that book would not convince them that the Indians could ever cross the sea and apply themselves to trade and maritime activity. One of them says : "The trade thus carried on was very extensive but appears to have been conducted by Greeks and Arabs." It is perfectly true that many evidences of the trade activity of the Indians which we know today were unknown when they wrote. Still *the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* itself contains unerring testimony to it. Thus, speaking of the ports on the African coast the author says, "Ships are also customarily fitted out from the places across the sea from Ariaca and Barygaza, *i.e.*, the Bombay coast, bringing to these far side market towns the product of their own places." Again the author remarks with reference to market towns near the mouth of the Euphrates, that large vessels are regularly sent to these towns from Barygaza, *i.e.*, Bharuch. Further the author found a number of Indian colonists in an island off the African coast and learnt that they had emigrated there to carry on trade. It would be strange indeed if after all these any one would refuse to credit the Indians for taking any part in the brisk trade activity that was going on between their own shores and foreign lands in the west. The result of this vast trade is clearly indicated by Pliny. He remarks that Indian articles of luxury were favoured by the Romans, and laments that, "There was no year in which India did not drain the Roman empire of fifty million sesterces (*i.e.*, £ 1,000,000)." Even in our days hundreds of Roman coins unearthed from Indian soil have borne testimony to this wonderful trade activity of the Indians.

The commercial intercourse led to political relations between India and the Roman empire.[1] Augustus Caesar received more than one embassy from India and according to one of the latest authorities these were four in number and proceeded from Punjab, Gujarat, Chera and Pandaa kingdoms. Probably the Chola kingdom also sent an embassy. One of the embassies was accompanied by an Indian philosopher who burned himself in the flames at Athens. Other details of this embassy have been preserved by an eye-witness, Nicolas of Damascus. They took four years on the journey by land and reached Augustus at Samos in 21 B.C., after a great deal of sufferings to which several members of the party succumbed.

Since the age of Augustus Indian embassies to Roman emperors became almost a regular feature. We have references to embassies to three successive emperors, Trajan (98-117 A.D.), Hadrian (117-138 A.D.) and Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.) as well as to Heliogabalus (218-222 A.D.), Aurelian (270-275 A.D.), Constantine (323-353 A.D.) and Julian (A.D. 361-363).

The political and commercial intercourse led to a more intimate knowledge of India in the west. A papyrus discovered a few years ago contains a Greek farce written in the second century A.D. The main plot turns round a Greek lady Charition who was ship-wrecked on the Indian coast. The Greek author shows intimate knowledge of India and like a true dramatist makes the Indians in his drama speak in their own tongue. Another writer Dio Chrysostom who lived in the second century A.D. mentions Indians as having frequented the markets of Alexandria and says that they came by way of trade. He learnt from them that the poems of Homer were translated into Indian languages. An evidence of this intercourse is preserved in an inscription on the temple at Dedesiya near the Nile river which contains the name of an Indian. Clement of Alexandria who died about 220 A.D. shows an intimate knowledge of India. He correctly refers to the faith and practice of the Brahmans and Buddhists and clearly distinguishes the two sects. Archelaus of Carrha (278 A.D.) and St. Jerome (340 A.D.) both mention Buddha by name and narrate the tradition of his birth. "The

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[1] For the account of the embassies that follow *cf.* E.H. Warmington. *The Commerce between Roman Empire and India* (1928), pp. 35-37, 77, 95, 99, 103, 124, 137-39.

Buddha story became gradually known in the west, until by a coincidence, hardly to be paralleled in literature, it was narrated in the eighth century A.D. by John of Damascus as the life of a Christian Saint. Under the guise of Saint Josaphat, Gautama the Bodhisattva found his way into the Christian Church and was included in the Martyrology of Gregory XIII."[1]

Bardasanes, the Babylonian, wrote a very interesting work on the Indian philosophers. He acquired his information from one Sandane, an Indian who came with an embassy to Syria in 218 A D. Through this work of Bardasanes Indian philosophy exercised a great influence on the development of neo-Platonism. As regards secular matters it is recorded that the Romans employed Indians to train their elephants.

While India thus influenced the religion and literature of the west, she was herself influenced by the latter in various ways. Her debt to Greece in sculpture, architecture, and coinage, and to Rome in mathematics and astronomy is well-known. It is also generally believed that she owed the art of writing to the Semitic races of the west and that some of her political concepts are based upon Persian models. Further borrowings on her part from the west are upheld by many scholars but cannot be definitely proved. In any case it is certain that there was a free and constant intercourse between India and the civilized countries of the west and each inspired the other with some of the best elements of its civilization.

So far about western countries. Let us now turn towards the north. Here we find the same commercial activity of the Indians. Indian merchants with their caravans travelled beyond the Hindukush to the great emporium of Bactra where the roads from India, China and the western countries converged. "There the cargoes were shipped on to rafts and floated down the Oxus to the Caspian, and thence partly by land and partly by river, to the Euxine. In the east they passed beyond the tableland of Pamir, across the desert of Gobi, till they reached the frontiers of the Celestial Empire of China."

The commercial activities in the north were accompanied or rather followed by political activities. Besides the conquest of Kabul, Kandahar and Herat, Indian arms succeeded in carving out a principality at Khotan in the desert of Gobi far beyond the roof of the world. Besides clear traditions among Indians, Tibetans and the Khotanese, satisfactory evidence of the Indian administration at Khotan has been found by Sir Aurel Stein in his memorable excavations at that place at the beginning of this century. The coins and manuscripts found in Khotan prove beyond all doubt that Indian language was in daily use for administrative purposes throughout the Khotan about the middle of the third century A.D. Names of officials are purely Indian such as Bhima, Bangasena, Nandasena, and we meet with familiar official designations such as *chara* (secret agent),*lākhāharaka* (letter-carrier), *duta* (messenger), *rājadvāra-purasthita* (president of the royal court), etc. Thus about the third century A.D. we find an Indian administration firmly planted on the borders of the desert of Gobi, beyond the northern limits of Tibet and further east than the tableland of Pamir.

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[1] H.G. Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World* (1916), p. 142.

The commercial and political influence of India in the north resulted in almost a complete cultural conquest of this region in Central Asia. Indian religion, Indian art, Indian alphabet and literature, and above all, Indian ideas, manners and customs profoundly affected these far off countries and civilized their nomadic inhabitants. It has been established by a study of the Central Asian manuscripts, written in Kuchean or Khotanese, the two principal languages in the area, that the scripts used in both were varieties of the Indian Gupta script, evidently imported into Eastern Turkestan by immigrants from India. So completely Indian in character were the vestiges of the ruined cities in this region that Sir Aurel Stein has remarked in one place that while visiting the excavated sites which lay buried deep under the sands of the desert he often thought that he was still within the familiar surroundings of a ruined ancient city in the Punjab.

Sir Aurel Stein also carried on excavations in later years (1906-1908) in the region further east across the Takla Makan desert and along the Tarim basin right up to the north-western corner of China. The nature and extent of the cultural influence of India in this region have been revealed by the wonderful archaeological explorations of Sir Aurel Stein. The results of these explorations have been vividly described by him in his monumental works *Serindia*, *Innermost Asia* and various other well-known publications. A perusal of these would bring home to any unbiased reader, how thoroughly Indian culture and civilization had moulded the character of the people.

It is not necessary to refer at length to the detailed accounts of Sir Aurel Stein or to the numerous documents and inscriptions written in Indian language and character discovered by him, but it would be hardly an exaggeration to say that his researches have definitely established the fact that vast regions in Central Asia owed their civilization principally to India. The Indian influence was prominent even as late as the seventh century A.D., and the great Chinese traveller Hieun-Tsang observed it in course of his journey from China to India through Turkestan. Thus Hieun-Tsang speaks of Yen-ki, a place about two thousand miles from the frontier of India, where the prevailing system of writing was taken from that of India with slight modifications, and where the people scrupulously followed India in the matter of religious doctrines. The people of Kucha, a neighbouring place, also owed their writings and religion to India, and we are told that they studied the books of their religion in the language of India. Throughout the region that Hieun-Tsang traversed on his way from India to China, he found Buddhism to be the prevalent religion and formalities, ceremonies, and artistic achievements associated with it found favour everywhere.

Through Central Asia the Indian culture and civilization first penetrated into China and then to the remoter regions in the north of Asia. The history of Buddhism in China is a fascinating story but cannot be referred to in details. A few characteristic features, however, may be noted.

In the first place it is a question not merely of the spread of certain religious doctrines in China, but the assimilation by her of the spirit of Indian culture and mode of thought. This was brought about by the long and intimate intercourse between the two countries. On the one hand China was visited at regular intervals by a succession of illustrious Buddhist preachers not only from India but also from those regions in central and western Asia which had already deeply imbibed Indian civilization. On the other hand streams of Chinese pilgrims came to India to study the Buddhist scriptures and visit the holy sites, dna transmitted back to their own country a first-hand knowledge of Indian life and manners. We may give a brief outline of the origin and development of this intercourse, as it is not possible to deal with it in detail.

According to the Chinese tradition a band of eighteen Buddhist monks came to China during the latter half of the third century B.C. This is not, however, generally regarded as a historical fact. But there is a definite reference to the intercourse between India and China in the report which Chang Kien, the famous Chinese ambassador in the court of the Yue-chi, presented to the emperor about 126 B.C. In the year 2 B.C. another Chinese ambassador sent to his court a Buddhist text which he had received from the Yue-chi. It was in the court of the Yue-chi that the Chinese met the Indian missionaries Kasyapa, Mataṅga and Dharmaratna who made summaries of Buddhist doctrines for propagation in China. Later these two Indians came to China in 68 A.D. and composed four or five works in Chinese on Buddhist doctrines.

The number of these missions to China increased considerably as soon as the routes in Central Asia were made secure by the military expeditions undertaken by General Panchao and his son Pan Yong. The earliest of the missionaries after this incident was an Arsacid prince from Persia. Whether he carried on his study in India or under Indian teachers we do not know, but he translated quite a large number of Buddhist texts in Chinese. He was aided in his laborious task by one Indo-Scythian, two Sogdian and three Indian Buddhists. They also trained the Chinese to assist them in their work.

Since this time we possess the names of a large number of Indians who regularly visited China and translated original Buddhist texts into Chinese. In addition to the numerous Indians, the work of translation was done by teachers belonging to various parts of Asia, including Kuchean, Parthian, Sogdien, and Scythian. One of the most renowned of these translators was the Indian scholar Kumārajīva who spent twelve years in translating important texts, nearly one hundred in number. Although Kumārajīva died in 413 A.D. his collaborators Punyatrāta, Buddhayasas and Dharmayasas continued the work till 417 A.D. Since the fifth century A.D., the visit of a large number of Indian scholars to China became a regular feature and there was a regular colony of Indian priests in several cities. The sixth and seventh centuries A.D. also saw hundreds of Buddhists from China and other parts of Asia pouring into India, and the University of Nālandā became an international centre. These on their return translated the Buddhist texts which they carried from India. It is difficult to give an adequate idea of the extent of these translations. Beal calculated as early as 1871 that the total Indian texts translated into Chinese amount to about seven hundred times the size of the New Testament. Actually it would perhaps be much larger. It is difficult to quote another instance where the literature of one country has been used to any thing like this extent by the people of an altogether different race, or the personal contact between the learned elements of the two has been so intimate. And what we know of China is evidently equally true of many other regions of Asia.

In any case it is certainly true of Tiqet. Here the Indians played perhaps even a larger part than in China in transforming the thoughts, beliefs and religious sentiments of the people. Buddhism was introduced in Tibet in the seventh century A.D. from Nepal and China. Buddhist priests from Bengal and Bihar visited it in the eighth century A.D., at the invitation of the king of Tibet. Since that period a close and intimate association grew between these two countries and fortunately a fairly detailed account of it has been preserved in Tibetan chronicles.[1] A few interesting points, called from Tibetan records, may be noted below.

As to the origin of the Tibetan alphabet, the Tibetan chronicles give us an interesting account. We are told that at the time of the introduction of Buddhism the art of writing was unknown in Tibet. The king of Tibet accordingly sent seven of his intelligent officers to India to study the art of reading and writing. But they could not complete the journey and returned. Then a brave talented minister of the king volunteered for the task and the king sent him with a large quantity of gold for making presents to Indian princes and professors. After a long and tedious journey he reached India and visited a Brahmana named Lipidatta. He persuaded the Indian Brahman, after a long speech and presents of gold, to teach him the art of writing and reading and completed his education at the famous University of Nālandā before he returned to Tibet. This tradition has not been accepted in all its details by modern scholars[1] but all are agreed that the Tibetan alphabet was derived from Indian writing and was learnt in India by Tibetan scholars.

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[1] Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das, *Indian Pandits in the land of snow* (1893), pp. 49 ff.

This event may be dated in seventh century A.D. During the next century Sānta Rakshita, the high priest of Nālandā, was invited by the king of Tibet and was received with the highest honours. He was given the title Achārya Bodhisattva and appointed by the king, the High Priest of Tibet. It was under his direction that Buddhist monachism, known as Lamaism, was established in Tibet. Several other Indian Buddhist preachers helped Santa Rakshita. Among them the name of Kamalasila may be prominently mentioned. When a Chinese Buddhist missionary began to preach in Tibet doctrines which were at variance with those taught by Sānta Rakshita, and proved more than a match for the latter and his associates, the Tibetan king invited Kamalasila, the great Buddhist philosopher of Magadha. Accordingly Kamalasila proceeded to Tibet and vanquished the Chinese Missionary. He was highly honoured by the Tibetan king and placed at the head of the metaphysical branch of the Buddhist Church.

In the ninth century A.D. many learned *pundits* from Bengal and Bihar were invited to Tibet by king Ralpachan who ascended the throne about 817 A.D. He was a very religious person and invited Indian *pundits* to translate Sanskrit books into Tibetan. He also introduced weights and measures after the Indian pattern. Gradually the old aristocracy was replaced by Buddhist monks and this led to a revolution, and gradual decline of Buddhism. From this state Buddhism was ultimately revived by the efforts of a Buddhist preacher from Bengal, Atiśa or Dīpaṅkara Sri Jñana whose name is held in the highest veneration in Tibet next only to that of Gautama Buddha.

The life of Atisa is interesting in more ways than one. Born towards the close of the tenth century A.D. in Bengal he entered

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[4] *Ep; Ind.* XI, 266 ff. A.F.R. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist* remains *found in Eastern Turkestan*, p. xvii.

the Buddhist order and was soon reputed to be proficient in all the *Śāstras*. He then resolved to make further studies under Chandrakīrti, the high priest of Suvarnadvipa who was considered to be the greatest scholar of his age. He embarked in a merchant vessel and reached the island after several months of tedious voyage. Dīpaṅkara stayed in Suvarnadvīpa for twelve years in order to completely master the teachings of Buddha and returned to India after visiting Ceylon and other islands. He was then acknowledged as the chief of the Buddhist monks and was appointed as the High Priest of Vikramasila monastery. About this time the Tibetan king decided to purify the religion in his land which had become debased in course of time. He accordingly sent twenty-one select monks to visit India in order to study the religion of Buddha, and to secure the services of as many eminent teachers as possible who were prepared to visit Tibet in order to reform the religion. Of these twenty-one monks, nineteen died in India, but the remaining two returned with thirteen Indian scholars. Learning from them of the high reputation of Dīpaṅkara the king of Tibet sent a special agent to Vikramasila to invite Dīpaṅkara to Tibet. The messenger was sent with one hundred attendants and a large quantity of gold. He delivered the letter of the king of Tibet to Dīpaṅkara with a large piece of bar-gold as the present from his sovereign and requested the learned patriarch to honour Tibet with a visit. But Dīpaṅkara declined the presents as well as the invitation even though the Tibetan envoy wept bitterly in his presence. On the return of this envoy, a second one was sent and when even this failed a third envoy was decided upon. Choice fell this time upon a Tibetan scholar who had learned Sanskrit in India. He spent three years in Vikramsila before he could persuade Atisa to visit Tibet. During this period he studied Sanskrit Buddhist literature and translated many books into Tibetan. He has left a vivid and detailed account of Atisa's journey to Tibet. Atisa was received at the frontier by four generals with three hundred horsemen. The king offered him a most cordial reception and gave him the title Supreme Lord. Dīpaṅkara travelled in different parts of Tibet during the remaining thirteen years of his life. He wrote many works, twenty of which are specifically named, and delivered no less than one hundred discourses. He reformed the religion in Tibet and restored it to its former purity and grandeur. He died at Lhasa at the age of seventy-three and is remembered even to-day with the highest veneration all over Tibet.

It is not necessary to give further details of the hundreds of Indian *pundits* who visited the land of snow, and not only preached the Buddhist religion and translated Indian texts, but transmitted to that inaccessible region the various elements of Indian culture and civilization. The two huge Tibetan collections of texts known popularly as *Kengur* and *Tengur* still remain as the great monument to their memory. These collections contain the literary works, both original texts as well as translations, composed by Indian scholars. The catalogue of Henri Cordier gives the names of many hundreds of Indian authors and the list of books composed or translated by them in Tibet. Most of the books which are preserved in translations in these two collections are now lost and forgotten in India and Tibet is repaying her old debt to India by restoring them to Indian scholarship.

I shall not pursue the story of further spread of Indian culture through China to Korea and Japan, because the general account which is fairly well known can only be supplemented by indirect evidence. The case is, however, far different with Burma, Indo-China, Malay Peninsula and the Islands of the Malay Archipelago. The Indian culture and civilization made a more thorough conquest of these regions and the whole fabric of Indian art, religion, literature and social ideas was transplanted there. But as this topic would form the subject matter of my next two chapters I need not deal with it at the present moment.

If we now review the fact referred to above we can judge for ourselves the correctness of the popular notion that Indians led an isolated life and Indian civilization was confined within its nature frontiers. It will be seen that from the remotest times India maintained intercourse with the outside world by way of trade and commerce. As a corollary to this Indian civilization also spread far beyond its boundaries. Gradually by virtue of its superiority Indian civilization transformed the less advanced people. The wide regions of Asia to the north, south-east, east and west offered a rich and fruitful field for the missionary enterprise of the Indians and they were not slow to take advantage of it. In greater or lesser degree the influence of Indian civilization made itself felt all over Asia. In the west, its influence declined early owing to the impact of Christianity and Islam. But in all other directions it was greater in extent and more enduring. Indian religion carried with it the elements of Indian culture in all aspects such as language, literature, art and architecture. The somewhat detailed account given in Tibetan chronicles gives us an idea of what happened in respect of other countries. When we read in pages of Hiuen-Tsang that the language and alphabet of remote regions of Central Asia were borrowed from India, we seldom realize the efforts behind it such as we read in the pages of Tibetan chronicles. What an amount of adventurous enterprises involving untold hardships and sufferings lies behind these cultural conquests can only be dimly realized when we read in the Tibetan chronicles the detailed anecdotes full of pathos and imbued with deep human interest. On the whole it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Indian cultural influence deeply permeated the soul of diverse races in Asia over widely extended regions, and enabled them in many cases to emerge out of primitive barbarism. India thus radiated her cultural influence, across the mountains and seas, far beyond the frontiers that nature set up for her, and played a larger part in civilizing Asia than perhaps even Greece did in respect of Europe. This is what we mean by Greater India.

2

Ancient Indian Colonization In the Far East

Political Aspect

Having described the intercourse between India and the regions lying to its west, north and north-east, I shall now proceed to discuss in some details the part played by India in moulding the life and civilization of the people living to the east and south-east. As in the other case intercourse in this region also first began by way of trade, both by land and sea. But soon it developed into regular colonization, and Indians established political authority in various parts of the vast Asiatic continent that lay to the south of China proper and to the east and south-east of India. Numerous Hindu states rose and flourished during a period of more than thousand years both on the mainland and in the islands of the Malay Archipelago. Even when the Hindu rule became a thing of the past in India itself, powerful kings bearing Hindu names were ruling over mighty empires in these far-off domains. The Hindu colonists brought with them the whole frame work of their culture and civilization and this was transplanted in its entirety among the people who had not yet emerged from their primitive barbarism.

This fascinating tale of the rise of a New India far away from the motherland has an epic grandeur of its own. But it is not possible to deal with that aspect, or even to go into details of the different states within a short space. I would, therefore, confine myself to a general account of the growth of Indian kingdoms in this region, and a somewhat detailed account of one or two important or typical examples.

The Indians travelled to these regions both by land and sea. From very early times there was a regular trade-route by land between Eastern India and China and also between Annam and India. The extensive trade along these routes led to the establishment of Indian colonies not only in upper Burma but also in the mountainous regions of the upper valleys of the Irawady, the Salween, the Mekong and the Red River as far as Yunnan. Yunnan was named Gandhara, and even as late as the thirteenth century A.D. Rashiduddin referred to this province by its Indian name and remarked that the population of Yunnan originated from the Indian and the Chinese. Similarly we can trace almost a continuous string of petty Hindu states from the Brahmaputra to the Gulf of Tonkin.

The Indians also advanced further south along the valleys of the Chindwin, Irawady, Salween and Mekong, and various Hindu States were established in the hinter-zone of Indo-China. But these are comparatively little known save those in Burma. I do not propose to refer to Indian influence in Burma, first because it is too patent even today to need any emphasis and secondly because until the other day, it was a part of India itself. I would, therefore, deal only with the Hindu kingdoms that flourished near the sea-coast and in the islands, partly because they attained to greater power and fame, but mainly because we possess far more abundant materials for the study of their history.

The earliest Hindu kingdoms founded at the beginning of the Christian era or shortly thereafter are found in Malay Peninsula, Cambodia and Annam in the mainland and the islands of Java, Sumatra, Borneo and Bali. Though isolated remains of Hindu kingdoms are found in other regions, the evidence is too scanty to give us any definite idea about their origin and growth.

The Malay Peninsula being the first territory on the route to the Far East was evidently colonized at an early period and certainly not later than the first century A.D. This is proved by the evidence of Ptolemy whose account is in striking agreement with that given in *Niddesa*, a Pali canonical book. We know from the Chinese Chronicles that various Hindu states flourished here during the first five centuries of the Christian era. But the Peninsula became the seat of a powerful empire under the Sailendra dynasty which ruled from the eighth to the twelfth century A.D.

Later, in the fifteenth century the kingdom of Malacca rose to great power and fame. The marriage of a king of Malacca with a Muslim princess led to his own conversion to that faith and this paved the way for the spread of Islam not only throughout the Malay Peninsula but even further beyond.

In the adjoining land of Cambodia we find an early Hindu kingdom referred to by the Chinese as Fu-nan. This was succeeded by the powerful Kambuja kingdom which gradually conquered not only the whole of what is now known after them as Cambodia but also nearly the whole of Siam proper. Hundreds of Sanskrit inscriptions give us a fairly detailed account of the long line of kings beginning from Jayavarman II —a proud name borne by six of his successors—and ending with Sri Indra Jayavarman who ruled from eighth to the fourteenth century A.D. During the fifteenth century A.D. the mighty Kambuja kingdom became a prey to invasions from Annamites from the east and the Thais or Siamese on the west. The kings gradually lost power and territory till they were forced to acknowledge the French as the *de facto* rulers of the land. But the stories of the wars and conquests of the earlier kings, their beneficent activities and religious endowments, and above all the stupendous architectural works undertaken by them form a glorious chapter in the history of Greater India.

To the east of Cambodia lay the Hindu kingdom of Champa in what is now called Annam. There we find a ruling dynasty founded by Śrī Māra as early as the second century A.D., and from that time onwards till the fifteenth century A.D., various Hindu dynasties ruled over the kingdom from different centres such as Amarāvatī, Pāṇḍuraṅga, Śrī Vijaya, Kauṭhāra, etc. They had to wage a continuous fight with their northern neighbours, the Annamites, and suffered invasions from the Chinese, the Mongols and the Kambujas. But the heroic struggle they carried on for more than a thousand years against enormous odds invests their record with a glory of its own. Ultimately they went down and hordes of Annamites poured upon the fair valleys and cities which bore Indian names and were flourishing seats of culture and civilization. The country was once more plunged into the barbarism from which it had emerged with the help of the Indians and only the ruins of monuments stand to-day to tell the tale of old days of Hindu glory.

Of the Hindu kingdoms in the Indian Archipelago, Yavadvīpa or Java is undoubtedly the most famous. It is mentioned in the *Ramayana* and the Chinese records refer to the foundation of a Hindu dynasty in the first century A.D. We find a Hindu king Devavarman sending an embassy to China in 132 A.D.; this being the earliest recorded diplomatic intercourse between the Hindu colonists and the Imperial court in China which gradually grew to be a regular feature of their political life. We get a valuable account of Java from the records of Fa-hien who visited it early in the fifth century A.D. Four Sanskrit records, which probably belong to the sixth century A.D., refer to a king called Pūrnavarman. Two centuries later, Java was ruled by a powerful king named Sañjaya who had extended the boundaries of his kingdom beyond the island. Later, Java formed a part of Śailendra empire. After the downfall of that empire, three important kingdoms rose to power in succession. Their kings bore Hindu names and epithets and many of them achieved high power and distinction. The last of the three kingdoms, known as Majapahit or Vilva-tikta became the seat of a mighty empire wielding authority over an area roughly corresponding to the erstwhile Dutch East Indies. It was during this period of greatness that the people were gradually converted to Islam by the Muslim merchants from India and even the members of the royal family adopted the new faith. Towards the close of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century the last Hindu king of Vilva-tikta fought stubbornly for defending his faith, but being defeated, fled to the island of Bali with retinues and attendants that still remained Hindu. There, in that remote island separated by a narrow channel from Java, Hinduism flourishes even to-day literally like a dot in the great ocean, as the solitary evidence of the great part it played in civilizing that extensive region.

Sumatra, like the Malay Peninsula, was situated midway on the sea-route between India and China, and Hindu colonization began there probably long before the Christian era. Some of the localities mentioned by Ptolemy were probably situated on the western and south-eastern coasts of Sumatra. Not much is known of the early Hindu kingdoms in Sumatra. But the kingdom of Śrī Vijaya which was probably founded before the fourth century A.D. came to be a famous and powerful state before the end of the seventh century A.D. Its authority was extended to the Malay Peninsula and many islands in the Archipelago. A Sanskrit inscription found at Ligor in Malay Peninsula refers to the mighty prowess of the king of Śrī Vijaya, the overlord of all neighbouring states whose kings made obeisance to him. The Chinese traveller It-sing describes Śrī Vijaya as an important centre of Buddhist learning in the islands of the southern sea. He also tells us that the city of Śrī Vijaya was the chief centre of trade with China and that its king possessed ships sailing between India and Śrī Vijaya.

Śrī Vijaya with the rest of Sumatra formed an integral part of the Śailendra empire. After the fall of that empire arose a new kingdom called Malayu which sought to rival the exploits of Śrī Vijaya. This position of supremacy was occupied in the fifteenth century by another State called Samudra which has given the present name Sumatra to the whole island. But gradually Islam made a peaceful penetration throughout the country in the wake of trade.

The island of Borneo, the home of the headhunters called the Dyak, was the seat of a flourishing Hindu kingdom in the fifth century A.D. Four Sanskrit inscriptions refer to a king Mūlavarman who flourished about this time. The ruins discovered in Borneo and the account preserved in the Chinese chronicles leave no doubt that independent Hindu kingdoms continued to flourish till the fourteenth century A.D. when they were conquered by Java.

The history of the island of Bali is like that of Borneo. Hindu kingdoms flourished there at an early date, but they were conquered by Java. Ultimately the king of Java, flying before the triumphant march of Islam, found a shelter in Bali which today possesses the unique distinction of being the only colony which still retains the Hindu culture and civilization.

Having given a brief survey of the principal regions where the Hindus established their political authority on a firm basis and ruled for more than a thousand years we may now proceed to give a somewhat detailed account of two kingdoms as illustrative specimens.

One of these is referred to by the Chinese as Fu-nan evidently the Chinese transcription of an original name which is, however, lost. This kingdom corresponded roughly to Cambodia proper and a part of Cochin-China and comprised the lower valley of the Mekong river.

According to the Chinese accounts the primitive people of Fu-nan were semi-savages. They went about naked and decorated themselves with tattoo marks. Their queen Lieu-ye was, however, defeated by Huen-tien, a follower of the Brahmanical religion, who married her and ruled over the country. He introduced the elements of civilized life. In particular, he made the women wear clothes.

Huen-tien, a name which represents Sanskrit Kauṇḍinya was most probably a Hindu colonist who came direct from India, though the possibility is not altogether excluded that he might have been a Hindu colonist from some part of Malay Peninsula or Malay Archipelago. The foundation of the Hindu kingdom by him cannot be placed later than the first century A.D.

After Huen-tien, his descendants ruled over the kingdom of Fu-nan, till about 200 A.D. when the great General Fān-Che-man was elected king by the people. The first part of the name, Fan, is the Chinese equivalent for Varman, but it is difficult to restore the whole name. Fan-Che-man was an able ruler and laid the foundations of the greatness of Fu-nan. He subjugated the neighbouring states to a distance of a thousand miles which henceforth became vassals of Fu-nan. He constructed a powerful navy and with its help conquered about ten states some of which were situated in the Malay Peninsula. He then assumed the title of Great King of Fu-nan. On his death the kingdom was usurped by his sister's son, General Fan-Chan. This reign is of special importance as we know definitely that he sent embassies to both China and India about the middle of the third century A.D. A Chinese text has preserved the account of an Indian merchant who made a voyage to Fu-nan for purposes of trade and visited king Fan-Chan. We learn from this account that the distance between Fu-nan and India was five thousand miles and a return voyage took three to four years. Fan-Chan sent one of his relations as an ambassador to India. The latter reached the mouth of the Ganges after a voyage of

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about a year, visited various parts of Eastern India and returned with envoys of the Indian king after four years' absence.

The kings of Fu-nan also sent a number of embassies to China in the third and fourth centuries A.D. The Hindu king who sent an embassy in 357 A.D. is named Chan-tian, which no doubt represents either Chandana or Chandra. Towards the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Kauṇḍinya, a Brahman inhabitant of India came to Fu-nan and was ultimately elected its king. He introduced Indian laws, manners and customs. This evidently refers to a fresh colonial enterprise directly from India as a result of which the country was thoroughly Brahmanized.

The Chinese texts give us a long account of another king of Fu-nan named Jayavarman who belonged to the line of Kauṇḍinya. He sent an Indian monk Nāgasena as an ambassador to China. He represented to the Chinese emperor that the dominant religious cult in Fu-nan was that of Maheśvara and wrote a poem eulogizing Maheśvara, Buddha, and the emperor. Throughout the reign of Jayavarman a very cordial and intimate relation subsisted between Fu-nan and China. Two Buddhist monks of Fu-nan named Sanghavarman and Mandrasena settled in China and translated various canonical texts. Jayavarman died in 514 A.D. and was succeeded by Rudravarman, the only king of Fu-nan who has left any epigraphic record,—a Sanskrit Buddhist inscription sadly mutilated. In 517 A. D. he sent an Indian named Dharmapāla as an envoy to China and sent five other embassies to the Imperial court between 519 and 539 A.D. In 539 A.D. he presented to the Chinese emperor a hair of Buddha, 12 feet long, which was preserved in his country.

Rudravarman is the last king of Fu-nan referred to by name in the Chinese texts. We learn from the Chinese texts that Fu-nan was conquered by Chitrasena king of Chen-la, who sent an embassy to the Chinese court in 616-17 A.D. But this refers only to the conquest of a part of the kingdom including the capital. The king removed his capital to another city called Na-fu-na, which probably stands for Navanagara and was situated near modern Kampot. There it maintained a precarious existence until it was finally extinguished by the king of Chen-la towards the close of the seventh century A.D.

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The name Chen-la is used by the Chinese to refer to the kingdom of Kambuja. The inscriptions of Cambodia, several hundreds in number, give us a detailed and connected account of the kingdom from the seventh century A.D. Even the two kings of Chen-la, referred to above, are known from these inscriptions. There is hardly any doubt that Kambuja was originally a vassal state of Fu-nan but grew powerful enough in the seventh century A.D. to assert its supremacy and destroy the suzerain power. Henceforth Kambuja took the place of Fu-nan as a leading power in Indo-China and led a glorious existence for nearly seven hundred years.

The summarized account of Fu-nan given above may be taken as a representative type illustrating the early history of almost every ancient Hindu colony in the Far East. Originally a country of savages or semi-barbarians, it imbibes the rudimentary elements of civilization from a Hindu or Hinduized chief who establishes his authority either by conquest or more peaceful methods. Gradually it comes more and more into direct contact with India, and Hindu culture and civilization becomes the dominant feature.

In the case of Fu-nan we can distinctly trace two broad stages of Indianization, one in the first, and another in the fourth century A.D. and in both cases under the influence of its Hindu rulers, one of whom at any rate is said to have come directly from India.

Fu-nan may be regarded as one of the important centres from which Indian culture and civilization radiated on all sides. The conquests of Fan-Che-man and the establishment of an empire of Fu-nan must have facilitated the natural process by which the culture was spreading in all directions. The empire of Fu-nan must have extended over Siam, Malay Peninsula and a part of Burma, in the time of Fan-Che-man. Wan-chen, a writer of the third century A.D., says that the vassal states of Fu-nan were all governed by Mandarins, and that the great officers of the right and the left of the king were called Kuen-luen. This title was borne by the king and a large number of families in Fu-nan. These must have formed the aristocracy and the ruling class, and they formed the main instrument of the spread of Hindu culture and civilization all over the empire.

Some detailed account has been preserved of one of these vassal states named Tien-suen, or Tuen-siun which was situated about five hundred miles from Fu-nan. The capital city was an important centre of trade and its market formed a meeting ground between the east and the west, frequented everyday by more than ten thousand men. An Indian named Che by the Chinese who lived in the fifth century A.D. and visited these parts gives the following account of Tuen-siun:

> "Tuen-siun is a vassal state of Fu-nan. The king is called Kuen-luen. It contains five hundred Hu (probably mercantile caste) families of India, two hundred Fo-tu (probably Buddhists), and more than a thousand Brāhmaṇas of India. The people of Tuen-siun follow their religion and give them their daughters in marriage, as most of these Brāhmaṇas settle in the country and do not go away."

The rest of the passage is concerned with the religious and social customs of India which are followed in Tuen-siun. The account is very illuminating as it gives a vivid image of an Indian colony in a foreign land and shows the process by which Indian colonies grew and exerted their influence over the indigenous population. It is the usual story of trade followed by a missionary propaganda of Brahmans, leading to gradual settlement in the country, establishment of political authority, fusion with the indigenous people by inter-marriage, and the virtual Indianization of the entire community.

Like Tuen-siun, Fu-nan itself was an important market town where met the traders from India and China. Evidently the same process, as described above, did also operate here in making it a flourishing Indian colony. Its supremacy and importance are perhaps due to the fact that Indian colonists seized the political power at an early stage and kept up regular and intimate intercourse with the motherland. Apart from visits of individual Indians, we must remember that as sea-going vessels in those days kept close to the coast, Fu-nan must have been an important halting station in the voyage, between India and China, undertaken among others by traders and ambassadors, to which frequent reference is made in the Chinese, chronicles. The Chinese texts also refer to trading voyages between India and Fu-nan. Whatever may be

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the reason there is no doubt that Fu-nan remained for at least three centuries the seat of an important Indian colony, both from political and commercial point of view.

Within a century of the downfall of Fu-nan we find the establishment of a vast empire by a dynasty of Indian colonists.

The researches of the Dutch scholars have only recently revealed the existence of this vast Indian empire which embraced nearly the whole of the Malay Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago. Neither Indian history nor Indian folk-lore has preserved any tradition of the famous royal dynasty that ruled over the empire with pomp and grandeur from the eighth century A.D. This is all the more to be wondered at as the dynasty was not only Indian in origin but had constant intercourse with the motherland both peaceful and hostile.

The dynasty was known as Śailendra, and we find it established as a royal power in Malay Peninsula in the year 775. A.D. Soon the kings of the dynasty made themselves masters of the whole of the Malay Archipelago including Sumatra and Java and made their influence felt in Annam and Cambodia. For the first time in its history, this region, now known as Malayasia, achieved a political unity as integral parts of an empire which shortly rose to a height of glory and splendour unknown before in this part of the world. Some idea of the wealth and grandeur of this empire may be formed from the accounts of the Arab merchants who visited this region in course of trade.

Ibn Khordadbeh (844-848 A.D.) says that the king of Zabag is named Mahārāja. His daily revenue amounts to two hundred *mans* of gold. He prepares a solid brick of this gold and throws it into water, saying 'there is my treasure.' A part of his revenue, about 50 *mans* of gold per day, is derived from cock-fight. A leg of the cock which wins belongs by right to him and the owner of the cock redeems it by paying its value in gold.

> Ibn Rosteh, writing about 903 A.D. remarks : "The great king (of Zabag) is called Mahārāja, *i.e.*, king of kings. He is not regarded as the greatest among the kings of India because he dwells in the islands. No other king is richer or more powerful than he and none has more revenue."

These Arab writers as well as several others such as Ishak bin Imran (died about 907 A.D.) and Ibn Serapion also refer to merchandise exported from Zabag and tell us marvellous tales of the country.

But the most detailed account of Zabag is furnished by Abu Zaid Hasan who published about 916 A.D. the account originally written by Sulaiman in 851 A.D. with additional remarks of his own. He applies the name Zabag both to the kingdom and its capital city. His remarks may be summed up as follows :

The distance between Zabag and China is one month's journey by sea-route. It may be even less if the winds are favourable."

The king of this town has got the title Mahārāja. The area of the kingdom is about nine-hundred (square) Parsangs. The king is also overlord of a large number of islands extending over a length of one thousand Parsangs or more. Among the kingdoms over which he rules are the island called Sribuza (Śrī Vijaya) with an area of about four-hundred (square) Parsangs, and the island called Rami with an area of about Eight-hundred (square) Parsangs. The maritime country of Kalah, midway between -Arabia and China, is also included among the territories of Maharaja. The area of Kalah is about eighty (square) Parsangs. The town of Kalah is the most important commercial centre for trade also, in camphor, sandalwood, ivory, tin, ebony, spices and various other articles. There was a regular maritime intercourse between this port and Oman.

The Mahārāja exercises his sovereignty on all these islands. The island in which he lives is very thickly populated and there is a continuous line of villages there, so that when the cocks crow in the morning, the cry is taken up by those in the next village, and in this way the sound is taken up for nearly a distance of hundred Parsangs.

There is one very extraordinary custom in Zabag. The palace of the king is connected with the sea by a shallow lake. Into this the king throws every morning a brick made of solid gold. These bricks are covered by water during tide, but are visible during ebb. When the king dies, all these bricks are collected, counted and weighed and these are entered in official records. The gold is then distributed among the members of the royal family, generals and royal slaves according to their rank and the remnant is distributed among the poor.

Masudi has given some details about Zabag in his work, Meadows of Gold (A.D. 943) some of his relevant remarks are summed up below :

1. Formerly there was a direct voyage between China and ports like Siraf and Oman. Now the port of Kalah serves as the meeting place for the mercantile navies of the two countries.
2. In the bay of Champa, is the empire of the Mahārāja, the king of islands, who rules over an empire without limit and has innumerable troops. Even the most rapid vessels could not complete in two years a tour round the isles which are under his possession. The territories of the king produce all sorts of spices and aromatics and no other sovereign of the world has as much wealth from the soil.

In spite of these detailed references to Zabag, which formed the home-island of the Śailendras and the nucleus of their empire, it has not been possible to locate it beyond all doubts. A keen and protracted controversy is now raging over the question. Until a few years ago the kingdom of Śrī Vijaya in Sumatra was unquestionably accepted as Zabag, the seat of the Śailendra authority. But Abu Zaid Hasan's account, quoted above, is decisively against this view. For, after describing the island of Zabag and mentioning that its king is also overlord of a large number of islands, he adds : "Among the kingdoms over which he rules is the island called Sribuza" which undoubtedly refers to Śrī Vijaya. This passage gave rise to doubts in my mind about the correctness of the accepted view and I studied the problem afresh in the light of all available materials. Although no final conclusion was possible, I hazarded the view that the central seat of the Śailendra authority should be located in the Malay Peninsula. At first it was regarded as a heresy. But later M. Coedes, Director of the Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient accepted some of my views and was candid enough to acknowledge his own responsibility for some of the erroneous views which gained currency among scholars. Two years later Dr. H.G. Quaritch Wales in a learned paper read before the India Society, London, endorsed my views about the location of the Śailendra capital in Malay Peninsula, and held that it was situated at modern Caiya. Lately M. Moens has dealt with the whole problem in detail in the *Tijdschrift Voor Ind. Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde* in an article extending over more than one-fifty pages and he has placed the capital of the Śailendras in Malay Peninsula.

I have dealt with this problem of identification at some length because it is associated with the question of the migration of the Śailendras from India and its different stages. Without going into controversial details and minute archaeological evidence, I may state in broad outline the views which appear to me to be the most reasonable in the light of the evidence now available to us.

It is a noteworthy fact that shortly after the supremacy of the Śailendras in Malayasia, this region came to be called Kling or Kaliṅga. The Śailendras also used in their inscriptions found at Java an alphabet which was very different from the current alphabet of the locality but which is identical with the alphabet used in the Pala inscriptions found in Bengal and Bihar. To this we may add the fact that royal dynasties with such names as Śaila and Śailodbhava are found ruling in parts of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The cumulative effect of all these is a presumption that the Śailendras originally migrated from Kaliṅga or some region in its neighbourhood and were probably connected with some royal dynasties in India. It may be noted further that according to many scholars the name Talaing in Burma denotes migrations from Kaliṅga or Telingana. The name Talaing may perhaps be derived from *Tri Kalinga*, the hilly region to the west of Kaliṅga. If this supposition be correct, we may hold that the Śailendras first crossed over to Lower Burma and then proceeded to Malay Peninsula. This is of course a mere hypothesis, but it opens up an interesting field of study which is likely to throw a flood of light on the spread of Indian culture in Burma and the Far East. Recently

Dr Coedes has suggested that the Kings of Fu-nan in Cambodia also might belong to the Śailendra dynasty.

The Śailendra emperors had diplomatic intercourse with the Chinese emperors in the east and the Indian monarchs, notably the Pāla and the Chola emperors in the west. The Chinese annals refer to no less than ten embassies during the tenth century A.D. sent to the Imperial court from San-fo-tsi, the name by which they denoted the Śailendra empire. They also refer to trading vessels from San-fo-tsi visiting China.

The Śailendra kings were Buddhists of the *Mahāyāna* sect. They got their religious inspiration from Gauḍa or Bengal and an inscription dated 782 A.D. found at Kelurak in Java, refers to the royal *Guru* or spiritual preceptor of the kings as coming from Gauḍa. An inscription found at Nālandā in Bihar refers to the establishment of a monastery at Nālandā by King Balaputradeva of Suvarṇabhūmi belonging to the Śailendra dynasty. At his request the Pāla emperor Devapāla of Bengal granted five villages in the district of Rājagrihā (modern Rajgir in Bihar) for the upkeep and repair of the monastery and defraying all necessary expenses of the religious establishment. Recently during the excavations at Nalandā quite a large number of bronze images have come to light and these are generally regarded as Javanese in origin. They may be regarded as belonging to this Javanese monastery of Nālandā. There is no doubt that Nālandā exercised a great influence upon the art and religious movements in Malayasia during the Śailendra period.

The Śailendra kings carried on similar friendly intercourse with the powerful Chola kings of south India. A copper-plate grant now preserved at Leiden informs us that the Śailendra King Chūḍāmaṇivarman constructed a monastery at Nāgapattinam (modern Nāgapatinam in Tamil Nadu) called after him Chūḍāmaṇivarma-*Vihāra*. The Chola emperor Rājarāja the Great granted in the twenty-first year of his reign (*i.e.*, 1005 A.D.) the revenue of a village for the upkeep of the shrine of Buddha in the Chūḍāmaṇivarma-*Vihāra*. Reference is also made in the same grant to Māra-Vijayottungavarman, son of Chūḍāmaṇi-Varma who must have succeeded his father shortly after 1005 A.D. These two Śailendra kings are also referred to in Chinese annals as having sent embassies to the Imperial accepted some of my views and was candid enough to acknowledge his own responsibility for some of the erroneous views which gained currency among scholars. Two years later Dr. H.G. Quaritch Wales in a learned paper read before the India Society, London, endorsed my views about the location of the Śailendra capital in Malay Peninsula, and held that it was situated at modern Caiya. Lately M. Moens has dealt with the whole problem in detail in the *Tijdschrift Voor Ind. Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde* in an article extending over more than one-fifty pages and he has placed the capital of the Śailendras in Malay Peninsula.

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Court in 1003 and 1008 A.D. respectively. There were also commercial relations between the Cholas and the Śailendra empire and an old Tamil poem refers to ships with merchandise coming from Kalagam to the Chola port at the mouth of the Kaveri river. Kalagam is almost certainly to be identified with the capital city of the Śailendras called Kadāram in Chola records and Kalah by Arab merchants.

Unfortunately hostilities soon broke out between the Cholas and the Śailendras. In a large number of records of the Chola emperor, Rājendra Chola, reference is made to his victory over Saṅgrāma-Vijayottungavarman, and a detailed list is given of the countries beyond the sea which were conquered by him. For a long time Indologists located these places in India, ignoring the express statement in the record that Rājendra Chola despatched many ships across the sea in order to conquer these regions. Next these places were located in Pegu in Burma, and V.A. Smith upheld this view in the latest edition of his History of India. There is, however, not the least doubt that the localities mentioned in the Chola records were constituent parts of the Śailendra empire in Sumatra and Malay Peninsula, and Rājendra Chola came into possession of them after having defeated Saṅgrāma-Vijayottuṅgavarman, the Śailendra King, about 1025. A.D.

It is difficult to ascertain exactly the cause of the outbreak of hostilities but commercial rivalry seems to have been the chief contributing factor of this untoward development. The geographical position of the Śailendra empire enabled it to control almost the whole volume of maritime trade between western and eastern Asia and the dazzling prospect which its conquest offered to the future commercial supremacy of the Cholas seems to be the principal reason of the oversea expedition undertaken by Rājendra Chola. His signal success was chiefly due to the fact that by his overland conquests right up to the mouth of the Ganges, the naval resources of the whole of the eastern coast of India were concentrated in his hands.

The struggle thus begun continued for nearly half a century and two of Rājendra Chola's successors, viz., Vīra Rājendra and Kulottuṅga claim victories over the Śailendra king. But the task of maintaining hold upon a distant country beyond the sea proved too difficult and the Chola emperors, sorely troubled at home, seem to have given up the ambitious project of developing a maritime empire at the cost of the Śailendras. An inscription, now preserved at Leiden, and dated 1090 A.D. states that at the request of the King of Kaḍāram *i.e.*, the Śailendra King, communicated by his two envoys, the Chola King Kulottuṅga exempted from taxes the village granted to the monastery called Chūḍāmaṇivarma-Vihāra by King Rājarāja, the Great. This perhaps indicates a resumption of friendly intercourse between the Śailendras and the Cholas, and in any case no Chola emperor after Kulottuṅga had any pretension of suzerainty over any part of the Śailendra empire.

The power and prestige of the Śailendras suffered a terrible blow by the crushing defeat at the hands of the Cholas. But exhausted and humiliated as it was their kingdom slowly recovered its former position. Unfortunately the name of the ruling dynasty is no longer met with in contemporary records. The Chinese still refer to the empire by its old name, and the Ceylonese chronicles refer to the powerful kingdom of Javaka, the same as Zābag of the Arab writers. Thus, although the empire continued for three centuries more, we do not definitely know whether the Śailendras still ruled over it. The Chinese work *Chu-fan-chi* describes the empire at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. as still embracing nearly the whole of Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. The Ceylonese chronicle *Cullavasṁa* describes two invasions of Ceylon by king Chandrabhānu of Jāvaka about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. In the first invasion Chandrabhānu devastated the whole island of Ceylon. But this was destined to be the last triumph of the famous empire. In course of the second expedition Chandrabhānu, in spite of his initial successes, was ultimately defeated, and fled with his life, leaving behind his family and treasures in the hands of the victorious enemy. But the diasater did not end here. Evidently his Ceylonese expedition brought him into conflict with the powerful Pāṇdya rulers of the South and in an inscription dated 1264 A.D. Jaṭavarman Vīrapāṇḍya claims to have defeated and killed the king of Sāvaka which is undoubtedly the same as Jāvaka.

This was the beginning of the end. The old rival, the king of Java, now took opportunity of the weakness of the empire, and slowly but steadily the Javanese rulers destroyed the mighty empire. In a Chinese work dated 1349 A.D. the King of Śan-fo-tsi is described as a local ruler, while another Chinese work refers to the conquest of San-fo-tsi by Java some time before 1377 A.D.

Thus ended an empire which was established in Malayasia by chiefs of Indian descent as early as eighth century A.D. after a glorious existence of nearly six hundred years. The Sailendra dynasty ruled over the empire certainly during the first half of this period and probably for a greater part of the second, though as yet we have no definite evidence of this.

But although the empire of the Śailendras perished more than five hundred years ago and even their very memory has utterly vanished, the new name Kaliṅga for the island of Java continued as a relic of their period of greatness. Besides, they made some permanent contributions to the culture and civilization of Java and left undying memorials of their greatness in the famous monuments of that island.

The Śailendras were *Mahāyāna* Buddhists and brought this cult into prominence in Malayasia where *Hinayānism* prevailed up to the end of the seventh century A.D. The Śailendras, as noted above, received their religious inspiration from Bengal and one of the preceptors of the Śailendra kings came from this land. This also explains the development of Tantrism in Java and Sumatra. For we learn from the Tibetan historian Tāranātha that the Pāla period witnessed a great development of the cult in Bengal and Bihar. Tantrism therefore must have flowed from these lands to Java. One of the most famous Tantrik texts in Java, *Sang-hyang Kamahāyanikan*, was probably composed during the Śailendra period in Java. The *Māhāyana* Buddhism introduced by the Śailendras left an abiding impress upon the populace for centuries to come and to a great extent transformed the religious life of Java and Sumatra.

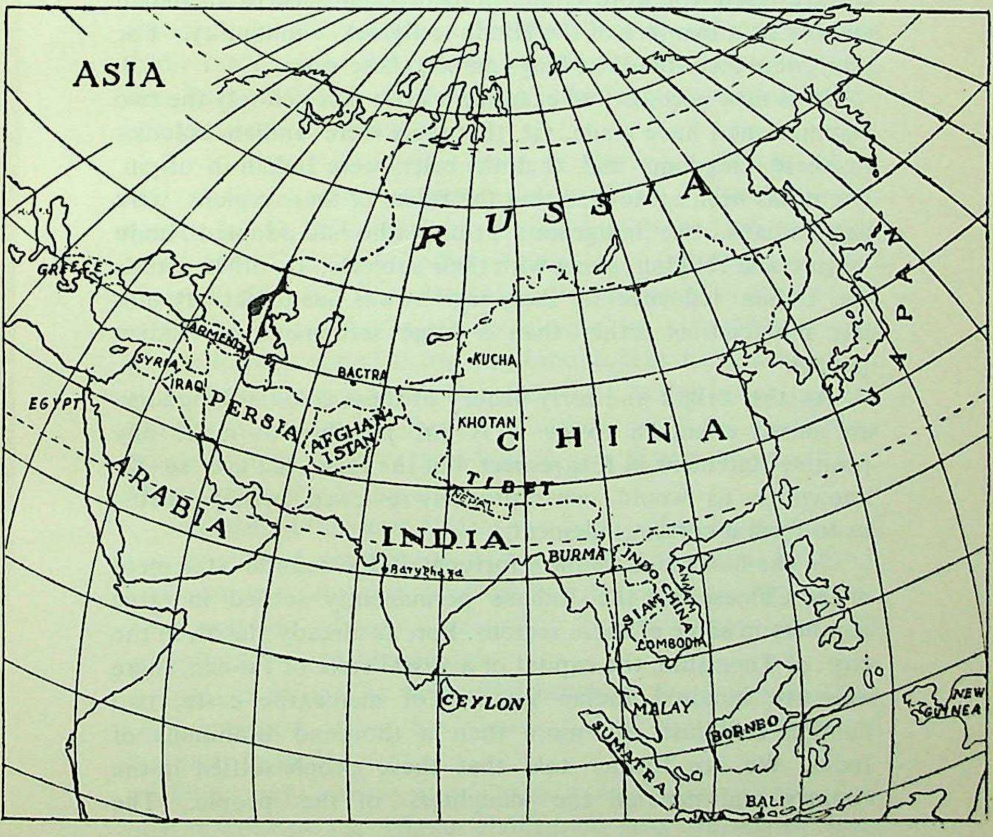
This new religion was associated with a new development of art in Java, which produced the world famous monument known as Borobudur. Indeed it was during the Śailendra period that Indo-Javanese art had reached its high-water mark of glory and splendour. It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that in both architecture and sculpture they rivalled and even surpassed the motherland. Besides Borobudur, we have several other temples, called Chaṇḍi in Java, of this period among which Chaṇḍi Kalasan, Chaṇḍi Sari, Chaṇḍi Mendut and Chaṇḍi Pavan may be regarded as typical examples.

The Śailendra empire serves as a typical example of the colonial empire of the ancient Hindus. It differs in a striking degree from the conception of colonial empire in modern times. The Hindus did not regard their colonies as mainly an outlet for their excessive population and an exclusive market for their growing trade. These characteristics of modern colonization were perhaps not altogether absent, but they were not the dominant notes of the colonial policy in ancient India. In any case the colonies did not serve as a means of extending the political power of India, nor were they valued chiefly as a source of wealth which could be drained at will, without limit, to enrich the homeland of the colonists.

In short, the colonies were not regarded as a source of exploitation for the benefit of the conquering race. Whatever might have been the cause or nature of the original settlement of the Hindus in the various oversea possessions, ultimately it tended to be a cultural mission for the uplift of the conquered. Wherever they settled they introduced, to the fullest extent, the elements of culture and civilization of the motherland. Their religious and social institutions, and their language, art and letters, almost completely superseded those of the people among they lived. They themselves became children of the soil and made the colonies their only home. They never kept aloof from the native population and merged themselves into the indigenous society. They did not seek to extirpate the natives, in order to preserve their purity of blood, but they intermarried with them and formed a new but homogeneous population and society. By virtue of its inherent superiority the Hindu culture no doubt formed the dominant element in this fusion, but it was also influenced considerably by the impact of new ideas. The Hindu social institutions were adapted to the needs and habits of the people, and both religion and literature were transformed to a certain extent by the influence of the indigenous elements. The gradual effects of such fusion can be clearly studied in the domains of palaeography and art. The earliest inscriptions of the Hindu settlers in Malayasia are written in alphabets which can be hardly distinguished from

Indian, so much so that it would not have been a matter of surprise at all if these records were discovered in some parts of India itself. But slowly local characteristics make their influence felt. The gradual changes in the development of the alphabets takes them farther and farther away from the Indian prototype, and ultimately an entirely distinct type of alphabet is evolved. Similarly the early products of art are distinctly Indian in conception, technique and execution, and almost every phase of the mediaeval art of India is represented in Malayasia. From about the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. distinctive indigenous characteristics make their appearance. From the thirteenth century A.D. the transition becomes more rapid till the art of Malayasia becomes purely indigenous and entirely distinct in course of the next two or three centuries

The Indians who settled in Malayasia readily merged themselves in the vast elements of native population and the result was a fusion of culture. But there was the great risk that even the inherent superiority of the Hindu culture might not counterbalance the sheer weight of numbers on the other side. This risk was minimized by the constant stream of colonization which flowed from the motherland bringing fresh vigour and life. But the moment this perennial spring ceased to flow the fountains fed by them also dried up. Thus the degree and extent of colonial enterprise in India set the pace of Indianization of the colonial culture and civilization. And when this spirit of colonization died away in India, the Indian element was rapidly submerged beneath the rising tide of the local and national spirit of the land to which the fusion between a primitive people and a virile race had given birth. The Indian colonists would perhaps have been wiser in worldly sense, if they followed the examples of some modern colonists who practically extirpated the native population or held quite aloof from them by reducing them to abject wholesale slavery. This exclusiveness might have enabled the colonists to lord it over the people of the soil who would never be civilized enough to aspire after anything great and remain content with their lot as hewers of wood and drawers of water. But the Indian tradition was altogether different. They put more value on cultural conquest and no price was reckoned too high so long as this great mission was fulfilled. They aimed at the uplift of the people and not selfish gain by means of their exploitation; and instead of wielding the rod of masters they extended the hand of fellowship to the people among whom they found themselves. When I was in Java a Dutch gentleman once casually remarked to me that they occupied the same position to-day as once my ancestors did. I remarked with good humour, so as not to wound his feelings, that it was perfectly true, with only a slight difference, viz. that when they would leave Java nothing but sugar and rubber plantations would keep alive for about a century the story of their mastery. But the Borobudur and hundreds of other monuments will tell the tale of my forefathers for another thousand years.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COMBODIA
CEYLON
MALAY
SUMATRA
BORNEO
BALI
JAVA
NEW GUINEA

3

Indian Colonization in the Far East

Cultural Aspect

So far I have given a rough idea of the various colonial kingdoms in Malayasia that were ruled over by the Hindu kings. I have used the word Hindu in its original sense of an Indian and not as a member of the Hindu religious community. For there were also Buddhist kings among these rulers.

It is now necessary to examine a little more closely the two assumptions I have made, viz. that there were Indian colonies in these kingdoms and that the rulers were Indian in origin. For it has been contended that the rulers of these regions were not Indians, but indigenous princes who had adopted Hindu culture and religion, along with their subjects. In other words the Indian influence in these regions was due to activity of a few missionaries rather than a large settlement of Indian people.

As the origin and early history of these colonial kingdoms are mostly unknown to us it is not possible to make any positive statement in this respect, but the facts that are so far known to us would, when properly reviewed, perhaps enable us to form a correct judgment.

In the first place we have fortunately the definite statement of the Chinese that the Indians permanently settled in large numbers in some of these regions. For, as already stated, in the city of Tuen-suin, the capital of a vassal state of Fu-nan, there were five hundred Indian families of mercantile caste, two hundred Buddhists and more than a thousand Brahmans of India. We are further told that these people settled in the country and married the daughters of the people. The

Chinese also have preserved the local tradition of Fu-nan that some of its kings came directly from India.

The direct testimony of the Chinese writers is fully supported by the earliest epigraphic evidence that has come down to us.

About twenty inscriptions earlier than the fifth century A.D. and written in Sanskrit language and purely Indian alphabet have been discovered in these regions. A few of these inscriptions are of special interest from the point of view of our present discussion.

An inscription in Western Java refers to a king called Pūrṇavarman and describes his grandfather as Rājaṛishi. Another ancestor of Pūrṇavarman, perhaps his father, is referred to as Rājādhirāja, and is said to have dug the Chandrabhāgā, a canal which reached the ocean. Pūrṇavarman himself dug a similar canal, called the Gomatī river, 6,122 *dhanus* in length and paid a *dakshiṇā* (fee) of a thousand cows to the Brāhmaṇas. We possess also three other inscriptions of this Pūrṇavarman, which among others refer to Vishnu's feet, and the elephant Airāvata.

Four inscriptions, discovered in Borneo, refer to a king Mūlavarman, and are engraved on sacrificial pillars of stone set up by the Brāhmaṇas for this king, when he performed the *yajna* (sacrifice) called *Bahusuvarṇakam* (much-gold), and made a gift of 20,000 cows to the Brāhmaṇas in the holy field of Vaprakeśvara. As regards the ancestry of king Mūlavarman we are told, in one of these inscriptions, that he was the eldest of the three sons of Aśvavarman who like Aṁśuman or the Sun was the originator of a family. Another mutilated inscription began by saying that as from king Sagara is born Bhagiratha so Mūlavarman was born, etc.

In Champā (modern Annam) we have got an inscription, of second or third century A.D. which refers to the royal family of Śri Māra, and several inscriptions of fourth or fifth century A.D. which mention *Dharma-Mahārāja* Bhadravarman and his worship of Śiva or Mahādeva.

The inscriptions of Malay Peninsula are too fragmentary to yield complete sense, but some of them contain well-known Buddhist formula.

These early records, though short and few in number, show how thoroughly the Hindu civilization had permeated these peoples. An intimate acquaintance with Sanskrit language and Indian alphabet is evinced by the inscriptions themselves. Their contents unerringly indicate great familiarity with Hindu religion, mythology, and rituals. Reference to Indian months and *tithis*, and to *dhanus* as standards of measurement, show clearly that in these respects the Indian systems had superseded the older ones. The adoption of geographical names such as Chandrabhāgā, Gomati, Vaprakeśvara, not only indicate a familiarity with Indian geography but clearly testify to the existence of an Indian element in the settled population. Lastly the kings all bear purely Indian names such as Pūrṇavarman, Mūlavarman, Bhadravarman, Śrī Māra, etc. As a matter of fact there is absolutely nothing in all these records that is not Indian. Now it is difficult to maintain that all these changes could be brought about by the efforts of a few missionary bands among a primitive people hardly emerging out of barbarism. They can only be explained by the theory that a large number of Indians had actually settled in those regions and exercised political domination over them. Of course, these Indians did not keep aloof from the native elements and form an isolated group. They freely intermarried with them and thus there was gradually a fusion of races. But constant streams of fresh Indian colonists must have kept up the Indian character of the culture and civilization.

This view, supported by the Chinese evidence and epigraphic records, is also in keeping with the local traditions current all over this region, about people coming from India and conquering the different kingdoms from the primitive people. Reference has already been made to these traditions in respect of Fu-nan. An inscription of Champā dated 657 .D. refers to the origin of the Hindu kingdom of Kamboja in the following words :

> "It was there that Kauṇḍinya, the foremost among Brāhmans, planted the spear which he had obtained from Droṇa's son Aśvathāmā, the best of Brāhmans."

The later Cambodian annals also refer to a prince of Indraprastha as having settled in Cambodia and made himself master of it by defeating the native king. According to another legend, referred to in later inscriptions, the kings of Cambodia descended from *Mahaṛishi* Kambu Svāyambhuva, belonging to the solar race.

Several traditions are current in Java about the early settlement of the Indians in that Island. Many of these legends associate the original colonists and their leader Aji Saka with the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* ruling at Astina, *i.e.*, Hastinapura. A modified version of these legends first takes the descendants of these princes to Gujarat whence a further wave of emigration to Java took place at a later date. Another cycle of legends gives the credit for the colonization of Java to the people of Kaliṅga. In one of them we read that "twenty thousand families were sent to Java by the prince of Kling".

It is not necessary to refer to many other similar stories. Although they cannot be regarded as historical, it is impossible to ignore altogether their general view-point regarding the colonization of their country by the Indians. It is interesting to note that even now there are groups of people in Malay Peninsula who claim to be descendants of Brāhman colonists who settled there many centuries ago.

It may be mentioned in this connection that Indian literature also contains references to various localities in the Far East and the voyage of Indians, specially merchants and princes, to these far-off islands. The fact that no detailed and accurate accöunt of these distant colonies has been found in Indian records is to be explained by the fact that in most cases the conquest was not deliberately planned by any Indian king but merely the works of bands of adventurers who were attracted to these regions in large number by the reports of wealth and power that could be easily attained there, and seldom returned to their motherlands.

On the whole, therefore, the only legitimate inference that we can draw from extant evidence is the permanent settlement of a large number of Indians in those far off lands, and the exercise of political authority by them over the indigenous element. This brought in its train the cultural domination of India over the primitive peoples who submitted to the new rulers. We have got a few glimpses of the condition of the indigenous people before they came into contact with the Indians. The Chinese say that the people of Fu-nan, both men and women went naked, and the Indian rulers taught them to wear clothes. Similar description occurs in respect of other regions. People in some parts might have been a little more civilized, but there is no ground for the belief that they had passed beyond the very primitive stage of civilization. The Indians gradually introduced among them the elements of civilized life and the inscriptions mentioned above and other evidences leave no doubt that Indian language and letters, and the essential features of India's religious and social life were already firmly established from Malay Peninsula to Borneo by the fourth or fifth century A. D.

During the next thousand years the process of Indianization made rapid progress and we notice in every sphere of life the deep impress of Indian culture and civilization. It is difficult to form an exact estimate of the nature and extent of this cultural conquest of India at this distance of time, but a study of the inscriptions, literature and monuments which are still preserved in different parts of Indo-China and Malaysia would convey a fair idea of the thoroughness wlth which Indian thoughts, beliefs, ideals and habits of life permeated every phase of life of the common people in those far off lands. It is not possible here to enter into a detailed discussion of this subject and I shall confine myself to a few general observations on some of the important topics such as religion, language, literature, art and architecture.

The chief sources of our information on these points are first, the numerous Sanskrit inscriptions discovered in Annam and Cambodia. secondly the extensive literature still preserved in manuscripts in Java, and thirdly the archaeological monuments, specially sanctuaries and images, found in pretty large number in all these countries and to a less extent in Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Borneo and other islands. The following general conclusions are based on a study of all these materials.

Religion

The dominant religion was the Pauranic form of Hinduism, consisting in the worship of the three principal deities, Brahmā Vishnu and Śiva, and a number of minor gods and demi-gods associated with them. Of these Śaivism occupied the most important position and Vaishnavism came next. The worship of Brahmā was current, but not very popular, as in India. Hundreds of temples were erected in honour of these gods, and literally thousands of images of gods still lie scattered over the whole area. Śiva is represented both as a human being as well as in the *liṅga* form, and other Śaiva gods like Durgā in various forms, Gaṇeśa, Kārtikeya and Nandin are represented by numerous images in stone and bronze.

The images of the different *avatāras* of Vishnu, the goddess Lakshmī and even Garuḍa are also found in hundreds. Brahmā's images are fewer in number but his four faces crown the numerous towers of the magnificent temple of Bayon. There are also images of the goddess Sarasvatī.

The Sūrya or Sun god occupied a prominent position, and he was often identified with Śiva. We get also the images of all the eight Dikpālas or guardian deities like Yama, Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, Kubera, etc. Numerous other gods and goddesses are also represented, and the truth of the following observation made by Crawford about a century ago in respect of Java has been established by recent researches. "Genuine Hindu images," said he, "in brass (bronze) and stone exist throughout Java in such variety, that I imagine there is hardly a personage of the Hindu mythology, of whom it is usual to make representations, that there is not a statue of."

The old religious texts found in Java and the actual form of worship now in vogue in the island of Bali leave no doubt that the essential rituals and ceremonies, popular mythology and cults, and the important philosophical and theological concepts of Hinduism were fully known to these people. Even today the *Padaṇḍas* or priests of Bali perform the ceremonies and recite the *Mantras* which are familiar to every orthodox Hindu all over India.

Buddhism was also prevalent though to a far less extent. The *Hīnayāna* form was popular towards the close of the seventh century A.D., but was practically ousted by the *Mahāyāna* form in the next century. Later the Tantrik form came into prominence as in Eastern India. Here again we find the entire Buddhist pantheon represented by their images, and important *Mahāyāna* texts expounding the essential features of the religion both in Sanskrit and Javanese languages.

Malaysia became an important centre of Buddhist culture and learned Buddhist teachers like Atīśa Dipaṅkara came from India to study the religious texts from the High Priest of Suvarnadvipa who was acknowledged as the highest authority in the Buddhist world. Although sectarianism was an important factor, there was always a conscious effort to establish an underlying unity between the different religious doctrines and religious sects. Sometimes Śiva, Vishnu and Buddha were all regarded as identical. The sublime height to which this spirit of syncretism attained is best illustrated by the following lines occurring in an Indo-Javanese text.

> "As a man puts on clothes of different colours, but still remains one and the same, so is He, the Creator, one and the same although He appears in different garbs to different men or different sects. Again, if there are a thousand pitchers full of water, men would see thousand suns reflected in them; but if they would only look up, they would see only one sun whose images they are. So only one God pervades all creatures though we mistake Him for many."

Language and Literature

The most important evidence for the prevalence of Sanskrit language and literature is furnished by inscriptions. Only a few Sanskrit inscriptions have been found in Malay Peninsula, Java, Borneo and other islands, but Cambodia and Annam have yielded hundreds of them. More than seventy Sanskrit inscriptions have been found in Annam, and about three hundred in Cambodia. Many of these inscriptions are fairly long and there are not a few which contain more than hundred verses, some even go up to 300 verses. The authors of these compositions show high proficiency in Sanskrit and an intimate knowledge of classical works in Indian Sanskrit literature. References to famous Indian poets, writers, and scholars also occur in these inscriptions. A study of these hardly leaves any doubt that the scholars in these colonies were in constant touch with their motherland. We have also several references to learned Brāhmans being brought from India to these colonies, and people going to India to study various subjects under great scholars. In one such case we learn that a Brahmana scholar from Kambuja who became the royal priest learnt the scriptures from Bhagavan Śaṅkarācārya. Indeed the general composition of these inscriptions is such that one would find it difficult to distinguish them from their Indian prototype.

As regards literature, we have a rich store of materials in Java. The study of Indian Sanskrit literature led to the growth of an Indo-Javanese literature, which forms one of the most characteristic features of Indian colonization in that island. This literature, so far as it grew before the end of Hindu supremacy, is marked by several important characteristics. Its poetry follows rules of Sanskrit metre, its subject matter is derived mainly from Indian literature, and it has a strong predilection for using Sanskrit words and quoting Sanskrit verses. The most important work in this literature is the prose translation of the great epic *Mahābhārata* which closely follows the original epic but is more condensed. The next important work is the *Rāmāyaṇa* which is not a translation of the great epic though its subject matter agrees quite well with the Sanskrit original with some variations. The most important of these variations is the omission of all reference to the banishment and death of Sītā. But that this episode of Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* was known in Java is proved by the representation of this story in the sculptured panels of Lara Jonggrang temple.

Several other famous works of Indo-Javanese literature deal with well-known Indian themes such as Arjuna's fight with *Nivāta Kavacha* abduction of Rukmiṇī by Kṛishṇa, the death of Indumatī caused by a garland of flowers, the great war between Kauravas and Pāṇdavas, burning of Kāma, the god of Love by Śiva, defeat of Indra and other gods by Narakāsura, defeat of Rāvaṇa by Kārtavīrya, churning of the ocean by the gods, conquests of Vṛitra and Nahusha, the story of Kālayavana, fight between Sunda and Upasunda over Tilottamā, the love-episode of Udayana and Vāsavadattā, the story of Sāvitrī and Satyavān, etc. There are various other works dealing with Puranic mythology and cosmology, moral lessons and historical incidents in addition to texts dealing with grammar, lexicon, metre, medicine, and erotics; all based on Indian models. In short we find here a replica of a wide range of

Indian literature in foreign language of which it would be difficult to find a parallel example except in the influence of classical literature on that of modern Europe.

We may next refer to artistic activities in Indian colonies. Fortunately we have a large number of monuments in Java, Cambodia and Annam, belonging to the Hindu period, which are in a fair state of preservation. A study of these leaves no doubt that like language and literature, the sculpture and architecture of these colonies were based on Indian models and originally inspired by ideals and technique of Indian art, though in course of time it was developed on independent lines without losing the essential Indian characteristics. The classical art of the Gupta period was the source from which the art traditions were derived, and at a later period, medieval sculptures of India, both of north and south, also exercised their influence. The origin of the aesthetic conception of the sculptures and their forms as well as of the general plan of the temples may be traced to the images and temples of the Gupta period. But the colonists sometimes surpassed even their mother country in boldness of conception, massive grandeur, and execution of details. For example, it would be difficult to name any sanctuary in India which can even make a remote approach to Angkor Vat or Borobudur. These display a command of material resources, mastery of technique, and a high aesthetic conception which place the art of colonial India on a level with that of the most civilized country in the world, ancient or modern. In no other sphere did the genius of the Indian colonists shine more brilliantly and leave a more permanent memorial to the high degree of civilization they attained in their land of adoption. Here fortunately we have also a sure means of estimating the influence of Indian elements on the progress and development of civilization in the colonies. For with the decay of Hindu influence there was a corresponding decay in the art and architecture, and the final collapse of the Hindu power proved a death blow to all artistic activities. I may quote a few lines from observations of a distinguished foreign art critic on this point. Referring to the Muslim conquest of Java Fergusson remarks : "Then occurred what was perhaps the least expected event in all this strange eventful history. It is as if the masons had thrown away their tools and the chisels had dropped from the hands of the carvers. From that time forward no building was erected in Java, and no image carved that is worth even a passing notice."

Fergusson pays a high tribute to the Indian colonists in this connection. "For nearly nine centuries," says he, "foreign colonists had persevered in adorning the island with edifices almost unrivalled elsewhere of their class; but at the end of that time, as happened so often in India, their blood had become diluted, their race impure, their energy effete and as if at the touch of a magician's wand they disappear. The inartistic native races resumed their sway, and art vanished from the land, never probably again to reappear."

Such a statement by an Indian writer might have been regarded as inspired by false patriotism, but coming as it does from an European scholar who cannot be accused of any partiality for Indians, it would, I hope, carry due weight. And what Fergusson has said about art applies more or less to other aspects of civilization. It also goes 'a great way towards demolishing the hypothesis that the Indian civilization in the Far East was not to be attributed to Indian colonies settled there but merely to the adoption of Hindu culture by the indigenous people.

4

The Sailendra Empire

Up to the end of the Tenth Century A.D.

In the eighth century A.D. most of the small states in Malayasia (comprising Malay Archipelago and Malay Peninsula) formed part of a mighty empire. The rulers of this vast empire, at least for the first four countries, belonged to the Śailendra dynasty, and we may, therefore, call it the Śailendra empire. The current notions about the character and origin of this empire differ very widely and form a subject of keen controvery among scholars. As it touches the very root of the matter, and we shall have to reconstruct the history of Sumatra, Java and Malay Peninsula in altogether different ways according as we accept the one view or the other I have discussed these preliminary points in detail elsewhere. The history of the Sailendra empire, as given below is based on the views formulated therein.

I

Our knowledge of the early history of the Sailendras is based solely on four inscriptions. It will be convenient, therefore, to begin with a brief summary of these records.

1. The Ligor Inscriptions, dated 775. A.D.'

A stelae, found at Ligor, in the Malay Peninsula, to the south of the Bay of Bandon, contains two inscriptions on its two faces.

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[1] BEFEO, vol. XVIII, 6. App. I, pp. 29ff.

The inscription *A* begins with eulogy of Śrī Vijayendrarāja and then refers to the building of three brick temples for Buddhist gods by Śrī Vijayeśvarabhūpati. Jayanta, the royal priest (*rājasthavīra*), being ordered by the king, built three *stūpas*. After Jayanta's death, his disciple and successor Adhimukti, built two brick *chaityas* by the side of the three *chaityas* (built by the king). In conclusion, it is said that Śrī Vijayanṛipati, who resembled Devendra, built the *stūpas* here in Saka 697 (*muni-nava-rasa*).

The inscription *B*, engraved on the back of the stelae, contains only one verse and a few letters of the second. It contains the eulogy of an emperor (*rājādhirāja*) having the name Vishnus (*vishṇvākhyo*). The last line is difficult.[1] It seems to refer to a lord of the Śailendra dynasty named Śrī Mahārāja, and though probable, it is not absolutely certain, if this person is the same as *rājādhirāja* having the name Vishnu.

2. Kalasan Inscription dated 778 A.D.[2]

The inscription was discovered at the village of Kalasan in Jogjakarta district of Java. Its contents may be summed up as follows :

"Adoration to Goddess Arya-Ṭārā.

The preceptors (*Guru*) of the Śailendra king had a temple of Tārā built with the help (or sanction) of Mahārājadyāh Panchapana panaṁkaraṅa. At the command of the *Gurus* some officers of the king built a temple, an image of Goddess Tārā and a residence for monks proficient in Vinaya-Mahāyāna.

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[1] M. Coédes reads the second word in the last line as '*Sailendra-Vaṁsa-prabhunigadatah* which gives no sense. I proposed to read the last word in the compound as *nigaditah*. But M. Coédes has kindly informed me in a letter that there is no trace of *i* on *d*-Mus. On BEFEO, XXIX, 448 has suggested *prabha (ba) nigadatah*.

[2] This inscription was originally published by Brandes in 1886, TBG., vol. 31. pp. 240-60. It was re-edited by Sir R.G. Bhandarkar in JBBRAS vol. XVII. part II, pp. 1-10. The last revised edition is by Bosch, *TBG*, vol. 68 (1928) pp. 57ff. According to Vogel, there are two Śailendra kings referred to in this inscription, the Sumatran Śailendraraja whose guru played an important part in the foundation of the Tārā temple, and *Kariyana* Panamkaranathe scion of the Śailendra dynasty ruling in Java (*BKI, vol. 75, p. 634*). Vogel has pointed out that *kariyana* is equivalent to the old Javanese *rakarayan* or *rakvyan* used as the title of a dignified officer, next only to the king.

In the prosperous kingdom of the ornament of the Śailendra dynasty *(Śailendra-vaṁsatilaka)*, the temple of Tārā was built by the preceptors of the Śailendra king. In the Śaka year 700, Mahārāja Panaṁkarṇa built a temple of Tārā for the worship of *Guru (gurupujārtham)*, and made a gift of the village of Kalasa to the *saṁgha*. This gift should be protected by the king of the Śailendra dynasty. Srīmān Kariyāna Panaṁkaraṇa makes this request to the future king."

3. The Kelurak Inscription dated 782 A.D.[1]

The inscription was originally situated at Kelurak, to the north of Loro Jonggrang temple at Prambanan in Jogjakarta District. It is illegible in many parts and the following summary gives us the important points from the historical point of view :

"Adoration to the three jewels (*ratnatraya*)." Praises of Buddhist deities.

"This earth is being protected by the king named Indra, who is an ornament of the Śailendra dynasty (*Śailendra-vaṁsatilaka*), who has conquered kings in all directions, and who has crushed the most powerful hero of the enemy (*Vairi-varavīra-vimardana*).

By him whose body has been purified by the dust of the feet of the preceptor coming from Gauḍa (*Gaudi-dvipa-guru*), this image of Manjūśri has been set up for the welfare of the world by the royal preceptor (*rājaguru*).

In the Śaka year 704, Kumaraghosha (*i.e.*, the preceptor from Gauḍa mentioned above) set up this Mañjughosha.

'This pillar of glory, an excellent landmark of relition (*dharmasetu*), having the shape of an image Manjusri, is for the protection of all creatures.

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[1] Edited by Bosch in *TBG*. vol. 68 (1928), pp. 1ff.

> In this enemy of Māra (*smarārati-nisudana*) exist *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Sangha*.
> This wielder of thunder, sung, as Svami Mañjuvak, contains all gods, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Maheśvara.
> I request the future kings to maintain this landmark of religion (*dharmasetu*).
> The preceptor, who has obtained the reverent hospitality (*satkāra*) of king Śrī-Saṅgrāmadhanañjaya."

4. The Nālandā copper-plate Inscription dated in the 39th year of king Devapala.[1]

This copperplate records the grant of five villages by Devapala at the request of the illustrious Bālaputradeva, king of Suvarnadvīpa (*Suvarṇadvīpādhipa-Mahārāja-Śri-Bālaputra-deva*).

The inscription concludes with a short account of Bālaputradeva which may be summed up as follows :

> "There was a great king of *Yavabhūmi* (*Y-pāla*), whose name signified 'tormentor of brave foes' (*Vīra-vairi-mathan-ānugatā-bhidhānaḥ*) and who was an ornament of the Śailendra dynasty *Śailendra-vaṁsa-tilaka*).
> He had a valiant son (called) samarāgravīra (or who was the foremost warrior in battle).
> His wife Tārā, daughter of kind Śri-Varmasetu[2] of the lunar race, resembled the goddess Tārā.
> By this wife he had a son Śri-Bālaputra, who built a monastery at Nālandā."

II

The Ligor Inscription *B* definitely proves the establishment of the Śailendra power in the Malay Peninsula. The inscription on the other face hardly leaves any doubt that the Śailendra must have wrested at least the Ligor region from the hands of Śrī-Vijaya sometime after 775 A.D. The Kalasan and Kelurak inscriptions prove that about the same time the Śailendras established their authority in Java.

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[1] *Epi. Ind.*, vol. XV II, p. 310. The inscription was also published separately by Mr. N.G. Majumdar as a memoir of the Varendra Research Society.

[2] Pandit H. Sastri reads this name a *Dharmasetu*, but Mr. N.G. Majumdar's reading *varmasetu* seems to me beyond doubt.

Thus during the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. the petty Hindu Kingdoms of Sumatra, Java and Malay Peninsula had all to succumb to or feel the weight of this new power. The Śailendras ushered in a new epoch in more senses than one. For the first time in history Malaysia, or the greater part of it, constituted a political entity as integral parts of an empire, and we shall see later on, how it shortly rose to a height of glory and splendour unknown before. But the Śailendras did more than this. They introduced a new type of culture. The new vigour of *Mahāyāna* form of Buddhism which resulted in such splendid monuments as Chandi Kalasan and Borobudur in Java may be mainly attributed to their patronage. The introduction of a new kind of alphabet which has been called the Pre-Nāgari script, and the adoption of a new name Kaliṅga for Malaysia, at least by the foreigners, may also be traced to the same source.

Yet, strangely enough, we have as yet no definite knowledge of the chief seat of authority of the Śailendras in Malaysia. It is generally held that they were originally rulers of Śrī-Vijaya (Palembang in Sumatra) and extended their authority gradually over Java and Malay Peninsula. I have discussed this question elsewhere, and tried to show how the hypothesis rests on a very weak basis. I hold the view that are far better grounds for the belief that the original seat of authority of the Śailendras was either in Java or in Malay Peninsula. For the present the question must be left open.

But supposing that either Śrī-Vijaya or Malay Peninsula was the nucleus of the Śailendra empire, the question arises whether Java was an integral part of the empire ruled over by the same king, or whether it formed a separate, though subordinate, kingdom under a member of the same royal dynasty. The first view would in ordinary circumstances appear more reasonable. But two considerations have been urged in support of the latter view. In the first place, as we shall see later on, the Śailendras period in the history of Java was the most glorious in respect of the development or art and architecture, which reached its climax in the famous monument of Borobudur. Now, neither

Sumatra nor the Malay Peninsula has left any monument worth the name, and although the destructive agencies of time and nature may account for much, it is impossible to believe that mighty monuments like Borobudur could have entirely vanished without leaving any trace or memory behind. It is difficult to believe, although such a thing may not be altogether impossible, that an outlying dependency of such a kingdom should produce so magnificent structures. In the second place, in the Nālandā copper plate of Devapāla, reference is made to Bālaputradeva, the king of Suvarṇadvīpa, but his grandfather is expressly referred to as a king of *Yavabhūmi*, an ornament of the Śailendra dynasty. If *Yavabhūmi* means Java, as is commonly accepted, the reference should be taken to mean that Java formed a separate state under a member of the same dynasty. Mainly on these two grounds Krom has laid down the hypothesis that while Java no doubt came under the sphere of influence of Śrī-Vijaya, sooner or later it came to form a separate State under a member of the same dynasty which ruled over Śrī-Vijaya.[1]

I am unable to concur in this view. As regards the first, the argument is not so forcible against Malay Peninsula. Mr R.J. Wilkinson has noted that, 'here and there in the forests of the Siamese Western States are fallen cities and temples, the relics of a civilization that built in imperishable stone'. He has also referred to other facts which "point to the past existence of powerful states and a high standard of wealth and luxury in the north of the Malay Peninsula".[2] Besides, it may be easily supposed that the seat of central authority was transferred to Java for a period. As to the second argument, I have shown in the article referred to that the expression *yava-bhūmipāla* in the Nālandā copper plate may lead to a very diffierent inference from that of Krom.

III

But, whatever we might think of the original seat of the Śailendras, there is no doubt that from ninth century A.D. they were the dominant power in Malaysia. The Śailendra empire is mentioned by various Arab writers who designate it as Zabag or Zabaj, or the empire of Mahārāja, and they describe its wealth and grandeur in glowing terms. It is quite clear from these accounts that the authority of the king of Zabag extended over nearly the whole of Malayasia and possibly also over the two mighty kingdoms in Indo-China, viz., Cambodia and Champā.

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[1] Krom, *Geschiednis*, pp. 138-40; M. Coédes, in a private letter, objects to the Malay Peninsula on the following, among other grounds—"The Peninsula is as poor in antiquities as Palembang itself."

[2] R.G. Wilkinson, *A History of the Peninsular Malays* (3rd ed.), Singapore, 1923, p. 15.

As regards Kamboja we have a tradition preserved by the merchant Sulaiman, whose account of a voyage in India and China was originally written in 851 and published by Abu Ziyad Hasan, with additional remarks, in 916 A.D. Sulaiman gives us the following story :[1]

> "It is said, in the annals of the country of Zābag, that in years gone by the country of Khmer came into the hands of a young prince of very hasty temper. One day he was seated with the Vizier when the conversation turned upon the empire of the Mahārāja, of its splendour, the number of its subjects and of the islands subordinate to it. All at once the king said to the Vizier, "I have taken a fancy into my head which I should much like to gratify . . . . . I should like to see before me the head of the king of Zābag in a dish . . . . These words passed from mouth to mouth and so spread that they at length reached the ears of the Mahārāja. That king ordered his Vizier to have a thousand vessels of medium size prepared with their engines of war, and to put on board of each vessel as many arms and soldiers as it could carry. When the preparations were ended, and everything was ready, the king went on board his fleet and proceeded with his troops to Khmer . . . . the king of Khmer knew nothing of the impending danger until the fleet had entered the river which led to his capital, and the troops of the Mahārāja had landed. The Mahārāja thus took the king of Khmer unawares and seized upon his palace. He had the king brought forth and had his head cut off . . . . The Mahārāja returned

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[1] Elliot *History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. 1, p. 8, Ferrand in *J A*, II-XX (1922), pp. 58 ff. 219ff. The story is also repeated by Masudi (Ferrand, *Textes* I, p. 93).

> immediately to his country and neither he nor any of his men touched anything belonging to the king of Khmer . . . . Afterwards the Mahārāja had the head washed and embalmed, then putting it in a vase, he sent it to the prince who then occupied the throne of Khmer."

The story undoubtedly belongs to the domain of folk-lore, but seems to have been based on a real struggle between Zabag and the Khmer Kingdom of Cambodia. This is confirmed by an inscription discovered in Cambodia itsef. The Sdok Kak Thom Inscription, written in Sanskrit and Khmer, and dated in 974 Śaka (=1052 A.D.) tells us that king Jayavarman II, who came from Java to reign in the city of Indrapura, performed a religious ceremony in order that Kambujadeśa might not again be dependent on Java.[1] As Jayavarman II ruled from 802 to 869 A.D. it follows that the Khmer kingdom of Cambodia had come under the influence of Java towards the close of the eighth century A.D. Taking Java of the inscription to be identical with Zabag of the Arabian account, it is reasonable to refer the 'old' story of Sulaiman to the same period. This fits in well with other known facts. We have seen that the Śailendras had established their authority over Malay Peninsula and Java by 775 and 778 A.D. It is, therefore, quite reasonable to hold that they had at least a temporary success against the Khmers towards the close of the eighth century A.D. About the same period the fleet of Java raided the coast of Annam as far as Tonkin in the north. The Chinese annals refer to an invasion of the 'March of Tran-nam in 767 A.D. by the people of Co-lon (*Kuen-Luen*) and of Daba, which Maspero identifies with Chopo of Java.[2] In the inscription of the kingdom of Champā (corresponding to Annam, south of Tonkin) several references are made to naval raids by a foreign people and in one case the raiders are named 'forces coming by way of sea from Java'. The first reference occurs in Po-Nagar stelae inscription of king

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[1] BEFEO, vol. XV, Part ii, p. 87.

[2] Maspero, *Le royaume de Champa*, pp. 97-98 and p. 98 fn. 4. Daba may be equivalent to Arabic Djawāg.

Satyavarman dated 706 Śaka (=785 A.D.) It runs as follows :[1]

> "In the Śaka year, denoted by Kosa-nava-rtu (696=774 A.D.), ferocious, pitiless, dark-coloured people of other cities, whose food was more horrible than that of the vampires and who were vicious and furious like Yama, came in ships, took away the Mukhaliṅga of the God (Śambhu, established at Kauṭhara by Vichitrasāgara) and set fire to the abode of the God, as the armed crowds of Daityas did in heaven."

The same event is referred to in another inscription as follows :[2]

> "Multitudes of vicious cannibals coming from other countries by means of ships carried away the images."

The next reference occurs in Yang Tikuh stelae inscriptions of Indravarman I, dated 721 Śaka (=799 A.D.). Speaking of the temple of Bhadrādhipatīśvara it says[3] that 'it was burnt by the army of Java coming by means of ships and became empty in the Śaka year 709 (=787 A.D.).

Here, again, we find the fleet of Java raiding the distant coast of Champā during the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. Although definite evidence is wanting, there are reasons to believe that the successive naval raids over threw the royal dynasty of Champā. But even if it were so, the success was a shortlived one. For a new dynasty soon established itself in Java.[4] On the whole, therefore, while there is nothing to show that the fleet of Java gained any permanent material success in Champā, the circumstances narrated above indicate their power, prestige and daring nature.

Now the question arises about the identity of Java mentioned in the Cham record. It has usually been taken to stand for

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[1] R.C. Majumdar, *Champa*, Book III, p. 43.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 70

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 50

[4] *Ibid.*, Book I, ch. v.

Yavadvīpa or the island of Java, but it may also be taken as equivalent to Arabic Zabag and thus identical with the Śailendra empire. In the present instance, however, it makes but little difference whether we identify it with the one or the other, for, as we have seen, Java, was at that time either included within the empire of the Śailendras or ruled by a member of the same dynasty, and as such there must have been a close association between the two so far at least as the foreign policy was concerned. On the whole, therefore, we are justified in regarding the naval raids as ultimately emanating from the empire of the Śailendras.[1]

IV

The emergence of the Śailendras as the leading naval power in Indonesia constituted an international event of outstanding importance. The Arabian merchant Sulaiman concludes his story quoted above, by saying that "this incident raised the king (of Zābag) in the estimation of the rulers of India and China."

The evidences collected above leave no doubt that the empire of the Śailendras reached the high-watermark of its greatness and glory in the eighth century A.D. The following century saw the beginning of the inevitable decline. By the middle of the ninth century A.D. their supremacy was successfully challenged by the two great neighbouring States of Cambodia and Java. We have already seen the determined attempt of Jayavarman II of Cambodia (802-869 A.D.) to throw off the yoke of the Śailendras, and there is no doubt that he was entirely successful in that respect. There is no evidence that the Śailendras had any pretension of supremacy over that kingdom after Jayavarman's time.

About the same time, the Śailendras lost their hold on Java. Unfortunately we know almost nothing of the circumstances under which the Śailendras lost Java. It is also difficult to assign even any approximate date for this event. If king Samarottuṅga who issued the Kedu inscription in 847 A.D. may be identified with king Samarāgravīra of the Nālandā copper plate, we may presume that the authority of the Śailendras had continued in Java till the middle of the ninth century A.D. But this identification cannot be held as certain, the more so because a later king of East Java also bore the title Samarottuṅga. In any case of Śailendras must have lost their authority in Java by 879 A.D., as we find that Central Java was then being ruled over by a king of Java belonging to a different dynasty. The middle of the ninth century A.D. may thus be regarded as the approximate limit of the Śailendras supremacy in Java.

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[1] It is, of course, possible to regard the naval raiders as mere pirates belonging to no country in particular. But the pointed references to the raiders as "*nāvāgatair-Java-vala-saṃghais*" seems to exclude this possibility. The expression implies 'an organised force sent from Java by way of sea', and should more reasonably be taken as belonging to the ruling authority in Java.

V

But in spite of the loss of Cambodia and Java, the Śailendra empire retained its position as a great power, and to the outside world it was still the greatest political power in the Pacific region.

In addition to the Nālandā copper plate which describes the Śailendras as rulers of Suvarṅadvīpa or Malayasia, our knowledge of them about this period is derived from the accounts left by Arab writers, who, as already remarked, refer to the country as Zabag. Ibn Hordadbeh (844-848 A.D.) says that the king of Zabag is named Mahārāja. His daily revenue amounts to two hundred *mans* of gold. He prepared a solid brick of this gold and throws it into water, saying 'there is my treasure'. A part of his revenue, about 50 *mans* of gold per day, is derived from cock-fight. A leg of the cock which wins belongs by right to him and the owner of the cock redeems it by paying its value in gold.[1]

The Arab merchant Sulaiman (851 A.D.) gives a more detailed account of the empire of Zabag. He says, "Kalahbar (*i.e.*, the country round the Isthmus of Kra in the Malay

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[1] J A, II-XX (1922), pp. 52-53.

Peninsula) is a part of the empire of Zabag are governed by the same king.[1]

The same account is repeated by Ibn-al-Fakih who adds that there is no country in the south after Zābag and that its king is very rich.[2]

Ibn Rosteh, writing about 903 A.D., remarks: "The great king (of Zābag) is called Mahārāja *i.e.*, king of kings. He is not regarded as the greatest among the kings of India because he dwells in the Islands. No other king is richer or more powerful than he and none has more revenue.[3]

These Arab writers as well as several others such as Ishak bin Imran (dies about 907 A.D.) and Ibn Serapion also refer to merchandises exported from Zabag and tell us marvellous tales of the country.

But, the most detailed account of Zabag is furnished by Abu Zaid Hasan who published, about 916 A.D., the account originally written by Sulaiman in 851 A.D., with additional remarks of his own. He applies the name Zabag both to the kingdom and its capital city. His remarks may be summed up as follows :

> "The distance between Zābag and China is one month's journey by sea-route. It may be even less if the winds are favourable."

The king of this town has got the title *Mahārāja*. The area of the kingdom is about nine-hundred (square) *Parsangs*. The king is also overlord of a large number of insalds extending over a length of one-thousand *Parsangs* or more. Among the kingdoms over which he rules are the island called Sribuza (Śrī-Vijaya) with an area of about four-hundred (square) *Parsangs*, and the island called Rami with an area of about eight-hundred (square) *Parsangs*. The maritime country of Kalah, midway between Arabia and China, is also included among the territories of *Mahārāja*. The area of Kalah is about eighty (square) *Parsangs*. The town of Kalah is the most important commercial centre for trade in aloe, camphor, sandalwood, ivory, tin, ebony, spices and various other articles. There was a regular maritime intercourse between this port and Oman.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 53

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

The *Mahārāja* exercises his sovereignty on all these Islands. The island in which he lives is very thickly populated from one end to the other.

There is one very extraordinary custom in Zabag. The palace of the king is connected with the sea by a shallow lake. Into this the king throws every morning a brick made of solid gold. These bricks are covered by water during tide, but are visible during ebb. When the king dies, all these bricks are collected, counted and weighed and these are entered in official records. The gold is then distributed among the members of the royal family, generals and royal slaves according to their rank and the remnant is distributed among the poor.[1]

Masudi has given some details about Zabag in his work, "Meadows of gold" (943 A.D.) Some of his relevant remarks are summed up below :[2]

1. India is a vast country extending over sea and land and mountains. It borders on the country of Zabag, which is the kingdom of the *Mahārāja*, the king of the islands. Zabag which separates India from China is comprised within the former country (p. 92)
2. The kingdom of Khmer is on the way to the kingdoms of the *Mahārāja* the king of the islands of Zabag, Kalah and Sirandib. (Here follows the story quoted above, of the expedition of the *Mahārāja* against the Khmer king and the death of the latter. (p. 93.)
3. The story of the throwing of a gold bar every day into the lake near the palace. (p. 93)

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[1] Ibid., pp. 56ff. The account concludes with the story of the struggle between the king of Zabag and the king of Khmer which has already been quoted above.

[2] Ferrand *Textes*, vol. I, Figures within brackets refer to pages of this volume.

4. Formerly there was a direct voyage between China and ports like Siraf and Oman. Now the port of Kalah serves as the meeting place for the mercantile navies of the two countries. (p. 96)
5. In the bay of Champā, is the empire of the *Mahārāja*, the king of islands, who rules over an empire without limit and has innumerable troops. Even the most rapid vessels could not complete in two years a tour round the isles which are under his possession. The territories of this king produce all sorts of spices and aromatics and no other sovereign of the world has as much wealth from the soil. (p. 99)
6. In the empire of the *Mahārāja*, is the island of Sribuza (=Śrī-Vijaya) which is situated at about 400 *Parsangs* from the continent and entirely cultivated. The king possesses also the islands of Zabag and Ramni; and many other islands and the whole of the sea of Champā are included in his domain. (p. 100)
7. The country, of which Mandurapatan is the capital, is situated opposite to Ceylon, as the Khmer country is in relation to the isles of the *Mahārāja*, such as Zabag and others. (p. 107)

The next in point of time is the account given by Ibrahim bin Wasif Sah (C. 1000 A.D.) "Zābag is a large archipelago thickly populated and with abundant means of livelihood. It is said that the Chinese, ruined by foreign invasions and civil wars, came and pillaged all the islands of the Archipelago and all their towns.

The islands of Zābag are numerous; one of them, known as "Sribuza has an area of 400 (square) *Parsangs*."[1]

Albiruni (C. 1030 A.D.) says, "The eastern islands in this ocean, which are nearer to China than to India, are the islands of the Zābaj, called by the Hindus *Suvarṇa-dvīpa i.e.*, the gold islands.... The islands of the Zābaj are called the Gold Country (*Suvarṇa-dvīpa*), because you obtain much gold as deposit if you wash only a little of the earth of that country.[2]

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[1] J A, 11 XX (1922), pp. 63-64.

[2] Sachau, *Alberuni*, vol. I, p. 210, vol. II. p. 106.

The accounts of the Arab writers quoted above leave no doubt that a mighty empire, comprising a large part of the Malay Archipelago and Malay Peninsula, flourished from the middle of the ninth to at least the end of the tenth century A.D. Thus we must hold that even after the loss of Java and Cambodia, the Śailendra empire continued to flourish for more than a century, and Sribuza or Śrī-Vijaya formed an important and integral part of it.

VI

The Chinese annals contain references to a kingdom called San-Fo-tsi which undoubtedly stands for the Śailendra empire. We learn from them that several embassies of the Śailendras visited China during the tenth century A.D.

In the Year 904 or 905 A.D. the governor of the capital city was sent as an ambassador with tribute. The Chinese emperor honoured him with a title which means "the General who pacifies the distant countries".[1]

In the 9th month of the Year 960 A.D. king Si-li hou-ta Hia-li-tan sent an ambassador named Li-tche-ti with tributes. During the winter of 961 A.D the tribute was sent by a king called Che-li-Wou-ye. These ambassadors reported that the Kingdom of San-fo-tsi was also called Sien-lieou.[2]

In the spring of 962 A.D. the king Che-li-Wou-Ye sent to China an embassy, composed of three ambassadors, with tribute. They brought back several articles from China.[3]

Four embassies were sent in 971, 972, 974 and 975 A.D.

In 980 and 983 A.D., the King Kia-tche sent ambassadors, with tribute, Hia-tche probably stands for the old Malay word 'Haji', which means king.[1]

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[1] J A. II-XX (1922), p. 17, n.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 17 notes 2 and 3. It is difficult to suggest the original of the proper names given in Chinese. Ferrand suggests the following:

1. Si-li hou-ta Hia-li-tanl (Malais) Seri kuda Haridana.
2. Che-li Wou-ye=Sri Wuja. Takakusu, however takes the first name as Śrī Kutaharit or Śrī Guptahārita (*Records*, p. XLII).

Ferrand further amends Sien-lieou as Mo-lieou and regards it as equivalent to Malayu. Needless to say, these suggestions are purely problematical and far from convincing.

[3] J A. II-XX (1922), p. 17, n. 4. According to Ma-Twan-lin this embassy was sent by the king-Li-si-lin-nan-mi-je-lai (*i.e.*, Mi-je-lai, son of Li-si-lin).

The trade relation with China was also revived in the tenth century. In 971 A.D. a regular shipping-house was opened at Canton, and two more were later opened at Hang-chu and Ming-chu. We are told that foreign merchants, from Arabia, Malay Peninsula, San-Fo-tsi, Java, Borneo, Philippine and Champa frequented these places.[2]

In the year 980 A.D. a merchant from San-Fo-tsi arrived at Swatow with a cargo which was carried to Canton.[3]

Again in the year 985 A.D. the master of a ship came and presented products of his country.[4]

The Arabic and Chinese accounts thus both testify to the political and commercial greatness of the Śailendra empire throughout the tenth century A.D. Unfortunately we possess very few details of the political history of the kingdom. The only facts of outstanding importance that are known to us, in outline only, are its relations with Java and with the Chola kingdom in south India.

The History of the Sung dynasty gives us the first definite information that we possess regarding the relation between the Śailendras and Java, since the latter kingdom freed itself from the control of the former. We learn from this chronicle that in 988 A.D. an ambassador from San-Fo-tsi came with tribute to China. He left the imperial capital in 990 A.D. But on reaching Canton he learnt that his country had been invaded by Cho-po (Java). So he rested there for about a year. In the spring of 992 A.D. the ambassador went with his navy to Champā, but as he did not receive any good news there, he came back to China and requested the emperor to issue a decree making San-Fo-tsi a protectorate of China.[5]

We hardly know anything about the origin and incidents of this hostility, which took a serious turn in the last decade of the tenth century A.D. But it is not difficult to imagine that the relations between the two countries had always been hostile and perhaps there were intermittent fights, or it may be that Dharmavamsa, the king of Java, felt powerful enough to follow an imperial policy like his neighbour and this naturally brought about a collision between the two. But whatever that may be, there is no doubt about the result of the struggle. To begin with, the king of Java had splendid success and invaded the enemy's country. But his success was neither decisive nor of a permanent character. In 1003 A.D. San-Fo-tsi recovered her strength sufficiently to send an embassy to China without any hindrance from Java.[1] In 1006 A.D. the kingdom of Java was destroyed by a catastrophe, the exact nature of which is not known. So the Śailendra empire was freed from any further fear from that quarter.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[2] Rockhill in *T'oung Pao*, 15 (1914), p. 420.

[3] J A, II-XX (1922), p. 18; Groeneveldt, Notes, p. 64.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

5

The Struggle between the Sailendras and the Cholas

Throughout the eleventh century A.D. the outstanding fact in the history of the Śailendras is an unceasing struggle with the powerful Chola rulers of south India.

The Chola State was one of the three kingdoms in south India which flourished from a hoary antiquity. It extended along the Coromandel coast, and its traditional boundaries were the Pennar river in the north, the southern Vellaru river on the south and up to the borders of Coorg on the west. The rise of the Pallavas within this area kept the Cholas in check for a long time. But the Cholas reasserted their ascendancy from the commencement of the tenth century A.D. With the accession of Parāntaka I in 907 A.D. the Cholas entered upon a career of aggressive imperialism. By a succession of great victories, Rājarāja the Great (985-1012 A.D.) made himself the lord paramount of southern India. His still more famous son Rājendra Chola (1012-1035 A.D.) raised the Chola power to its climax and his conquests extended as far as Bengal in the north.

The Cholas were also a great naval power and this naturally brought them into contact with Indonesia. At first there existed a friendly relation between the Chola kings and the Śailendra rulers. An inscription written partly in Sanskrit (1044 A.D.) and partly in Tamil (1046 A.D.) the so-called Larger Leyden Grant, tells us that in the 21st year of Rājarāja Rājakesarivarman (*i. e.*, Rājarāja the Great). Śri Māravijayottuṅgavarman, king of Kāṭāha and Sri Vishaya, and belonging to Śailendra dynasty, granted a village to a Buddhist monastery at Nāgīpattinam which was constructed by his father Chūlamanivarman and named after him as Chūlamanivarmavihāra. In the Tamil portion the Chola king endorses the grant,[1] referring to the royal donor as king of Kiḍāra and Kaḍāra.

This interesting record naturally recalls the Nālandā copper plate of the time of Devapāla. In both cases a Śailendra king grants villages to a Buddhist temple, erected in India, through the favour and courtesy of the Indian king. Both furnish us with names of Śailendra kings not known from indigenous sources.

Fortunately the present inscription can be precisely dated, for the 21st year of Rājarāja falls in 1005 A.D. We thus come to know that Śri Māravijayottuṅgavarman, son of Chūḍāmanivarman was on the throne in 1005 A.D. To G. Coédes belongs the credit of tracing these two names in the Chinese Annals.[2] The History of the Sung dynasty gives us the following details about them.[3]

> "In the year 1003 the king Se-li-chu-la-wu-ni-fu-ma-iau-hwa (Śrī Chūḍāmaṇivarmadeva) sent two envoys to bring tribute; they told that in their country a Buddhist temple had been erected in order to pray for the long life of the emperor.
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> In the year 1008 the king Se-ri-ma-la-p'i (Śrī Māra-vi-jayottungavarman) sent three envoys to present tribute."

Comparing the Chinese and Indian dates we can easily put the death of Chuḍāmaṇivarman and the accession of his son Śri-Māra-vijayottuñgavarman some time between 1003 and 1005 A.D. So the relations between the Chola and Śailendra kings were quite friendly at the commencement of the eleventh century A.D. It is interesting to note that while the Sanskrit porition of the Leyden Grant refers to Śrī-Māra-Vijayottuṅgavarman as king of Kaṭāha and Srī Vishaya; the Tamil portion refers to him only as the king of Kaḍāra or Kiḍāra. In spite of Ferrand's criticism[1] there is much to be said in support of the view of Coedēs, that Kaṭāha, Kaḍāra or Kiḍāra are all equivalents of Kedah in the western part of the Mālay Peninsula.[2] It would then follow, that while the king Māra-Vijayottuṅgavarmadeva ruled over both Śrī-Vijaya and Malay Peninsula, as is also testified to by the Arab writers, the Cholas regarded them rather as rulers of Malay Peninsula with suzerainty over Srī-Vijaya.

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[1] The inscription was edited by Burgess in *Arch. Surv. South India*, vol. IV, p. 206.

The Sanskrit portion is dated in 1044 A.D. and the Tamil portion in 1046 A.D. The Tamil portion gives "Sulamanipadma" in place of Chulamanivarman as the name of the king and the *Vihāra*.

[2] *BEFEO*, vol. XVIII, No. 6.

[3] Groeneveldt, *Notes* p. 65, *JA*, II-XX (1922), p. 19.

There were also commercial relations between the two countries. An old Tamil poem refers to ships with merchandise coming from Kālagam to Kāvirippūmpattinam, the great port situated at the mouth of the Kaveri river.[3] Kalāgam, which a later commentator equates with Kaḍāram, denotes in any case Kedah in Malay Peninsula which the Arabs designate as Kala.

The friendly relation between the Chola kings and the Śailendra rulers did not last long. In a few years hostilities broke out and Rājendra Chola sent a naval expedition against his mighty adversary beyond the sea. The details preserved in the Chola records leave no doubt that the expedition was crowned with brilliant success and various parts of the empire of the Śailendras were reduced by the mighty Chola emperor. The reason for the outbreak of hostility and 'the different factors that contributed to the stupendous success of the most arduous undertaking of the Chola emperor are unknown to us. Fortunately we have a fair idea of the time when the expedition took place and we also know the name of the Śailendra king who was humbled by the Indian emperor. These and other details are furnished by the records of the Cholas, and a short reference to these is necessary for a proper understanding of the subject.

1. Several inscriptions at Malurpatna dated in the 23rd year of king Rājarāja, record that he was pleased to destroy the

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[1] *JAL*, II-XX (1972), pp. 50-51.

[2] *op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff.

[3] Quoted by Kanaksabhai in *Madras Review* (August, 1902); Also *of.* K. Aiyangar's remarks in *Journ. of Ind. Hist.*, vol. II, p. 347.

ships (at) Kāndaḷūr Sālai............and twelve thousand ancient islands of the sea.[1]

The 23rd year of Rājarāja corresponds to 1007 A.D. It is therefore reasonable to presume that the Cholas possessed a powerful navy, and started on a deliberate policy of making maritime conquests early in the eleventh century A.D.

2. The Tiruvalangadu Plates, dated in the 6th year of Rājendra Chola (1017-18 A.D.) contain the following verse[2]:

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[1] Nos. 128, 130, 131, 132 of Channapatna Taluq, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. IX. trans., pp. 159-161.

[2] *S. Ind. In.*, vol. III, Part III, pp. 383 ff. The inscription consists of 271 lines in Sanskrit and 524 lines in Tamil. Both the parts are expressly dated in the 6th year of Rājendra Chola. But the Sanskrit portion is usually regarded as being engraved at a later date. When the inscription was first noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archeological Survey*, 1903-04, pp. 234-35, the following remarks were made: "The Tamil portion of Tiruvalangadu Plates is dated in the 6th year of Rājendra Chola's reign (1016-17 A.D.) and the Sanskrit portion also refers to the grant having been made in the same year. But the conquest of Kaṭāha, which, as we know from other inscriptions of the king, took place in the 15th or 16th year of his reign, is mentioned in the Sanskrit portion. It has therefore to be concluded that, as in the Leyden Grant, the Sanskrit *Prasasti* of the Tiruvalangadu Plates was added subsequently to the Tamil portion which actually contains the king's order (issued in the 6th year of his reign)." This argument has, however, very little force, for, as we now know, there is no reason to place the expedition to Kaṭāha in the 15th year or and as we shall see later, an inscription of the 13th year of the king refers to three oversea conquests in detail.

Hultzsch, while editing the inscription, expresses the same view in a modified manner. Referring to the conquests recorded in the Sanskrit portion he observes: "These conquests of Rājendra Chola are mostly recorded in the historical introductions to his Tamil inscriptions dated from and after the 13th year of his reign. It may here be noted that the Tamil introduction given in lines 131 to 142 below is naturally the shorter one since it belongs to the sixth year of the king's reign: and since it does not include a list of all the conquests mentioned above it has been suggested that the Sanskrit portion of the grant which includes the conquests of the later years must be a subsequent addition." (*S I I*, vol. III, p. 389).

It must be observed, however, that none of the records of Rājendra Chola gives any specific date for any of his conquests, and we can only conclude that the conquests must have been made before the date of the inscription which records them. It is, therefore, too risky to assert that any particular conquest is of a later date.

On the other hand, a comparison of the records shows that they contain stereotyped official list of conquests repeated in exactly the same

> "Having conquered Kaṭāha with (the help of) his valiant forces that had crossed the ocean, (and) having made all kings bow down (before him), this (king-Rājendra Chola) protected the whole earth for a long time" (v. 123).

3. An inscription at the temple of Malur in the Bangalore district dated in the 13th year of Rājendra Chola (1024-25 A.D.). gives a detailed account of his oversea conquest.[1]

4. The same details are also given in the Thanjavur inscription of Rājendra Chola dated in his 19th year (1030-31A.D.) in the following words[2]:

> "and (who-Rájendra Chola) having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Saṅgrāma-vijayottungavarman, the king of Kaḍāram along with (his) vehicles, (viz) rutting elephants, (which were as impetuous as) the sea in fighting, (took) the large heap of treasures, which (that king) had rightfully accumulated; the (arch called) Vidyādhara-toraṇa at the "war-gate," of the extensive city of the enemy; the gate of "Jewel-gate," adorned with great splendour; the "gate of large jewels,"

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words, with additions from time to time in records of later years. This, no doubt, is a strong argument in favour of the belief that the 'additional conquests' took place after the date of the last inscription which does not mention them.

Judging from the above the conquest of Kaṭāha in the sixth year of Rajendra Chola is doubtful, as it is not included in the list of conquests in inscriptions dated in the 9th and 13th years of his reign. As will be shown below, the conquest of Kaṭáha with a number of other states beyond the sea is mentioned in inscriptions dated in the 13th and 20th years of the reign.

If, however, the Sanskrit portion of the Tiruvalangadu Plates were composed after these conquests, it is very difficult to believe that the author who has devoted 40 verses to the couquests of Rājendra Chola would have merely referred to these mighty exploits in only one verse.

On the whole, therefore, until more specific evidence is available, we accept the clear deduction from the inscription that a naval expedition was sent to Kaṭāha. For reason given below, it has to be distinguished from the more elaborate and successful expeditions of the 13th year, referred to in Channapatna and Tanjavur Inscriptions.

[1] No 84 of Channapatna Taluq *E. C.*, IX, pp. 148-50;

[2] *S.I* I, vol. II, pp. 105 ff. (Some corrections were made later in *Epi. Ind.* vol. IX, pp. 231-2).

Vijayam, of great fame: Paṇṇai, watered by the river; the ancient Malaiyur (with) a fort situated on a high hill; Māyirudiṅgam, surrounded by the deep sea (as) a moat; Ilangāśogam (i.e., Lankasuka), undaunted (in) fierce battles; Māppappālam, having abundant high waters as defence; Mevilimbaṅgam, having fine walls as defence; Valaippanduṛu, possessing (both) cultivated land (?) and jungle; Talaittak-kolam, praised by great men (versed in) the sciences; Mādamālingam, firm in great and fierce battles Ilāmurideśam, whose fierce strength was subdued by a vehement (attack); Mānakkavāram whose flower-gardens (resembled) the gridle (of the nymph) of the southern region; Kaḍāram, of fierce strength, which was protected by the neighbouring sea.''

5. These details are also repeated in several other inscriptions dated in the 19th, 22nd, 23rd and 27th years of Rājendra Choladeva.[1]

6. The preambles of two inscriptions dated in the 18th and 32nd years of Rājendra Chola refer to him as ruling over Ganga (or Gangai) the East country and Kaḍāram.[2]

7. In an incription at Mandikere, dated 1050 A.D., Rājendra Chola is said to have conquered Gangai in the north, Ilangai in the south, Mahodai on the west and Kaḍārm on the east.[3]

8. The Kanyākumrāi inscription (verse 72) JOɁ he 7th year of Vira Rājendra contains the following statement about Rājendra Chola.

"With (the help) of his forces which crossed the seas ....he (Rājendra Chola) burnt Kaṭāha that could not be set fire to by others.'[4]

In the light of the above records, the long passage in the Thanjavur inscription (No. 4) seems to indicate that

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[1] Nos. 83 and 133 of Channapatna Taluq (*E.C.*, IX 148-50, 161); Nos. 7a and 37 of Nelamangala Taluq, *Ibid.*, pp. 30-35.

[2] No. 1 of Nelamangala Taluq, *Ibid.*, p. 29; No. 142 of Hoskote Taluq I, p. 107).

[3] No. 25 of Nelamangala Taluq, *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[4] *Travancore Archaological Series*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 157; *Epi Ind.*, vol. XVII, pp. 45-46 and 54.

Rājendra Chola defeated the king of Kaḍāra, took possession of various parts of his kingdom, and concluded his campaign by taking Kaḍāra itself. In other words, the various countries mentioned in the passage were not independent kingdoms, but merely the different subject-states of Saṅgrāma-Vijayottuṅgavarman, ruler of Kaḍāra and Śri-Vijaya.[1]

We must, therefore, try to identify these geographical names, with a view to understand correctly the exact nature of Rājendra Chola's conquests, and, indirectly, also of the empire of Saṅgrām-Vijayottuṅga.

It is needless now to refer to the various suggestions and theories in this respect that were made from time to time till the ingenious researches of Coedes put the whole matter in a clear light.[2] Although some of the conclusions of Coedes are not certainly beyond all doubt, his views are a great improvement on his predecessors and we cannot do better than accept his results, at least as a working hypothesis. We, therefore, sum up below the views put forward by Coedes with some modifications necessitated by later researches.[3]

PANNAI. This country is probably identical with Pane which *Nagarakitagama* includes among the states of Sumatra, subordinate to Majapahit. Gerini places it at modern Pani or Panei on the eastern side of the island of Sumatra.[4]

MALAIYUR. This is no doubt the same as the country known as *Malayu* which is sometimes written with a 'r' at the end (as in this instance and in some Arab texts) or sometimes without it. The identification of this place has formed a subject of keen and protracted discussion.[5] It has been located both in the eastern as well as in the western coast of Sumatra. and even in the southern part of Malay Peninsula. We learn from I-tsing that it was fifteen days Journey by sea from Śri-Vijaya[1] and was conquered by this state some time between 672 and 705 A.D.

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[1] This view, originally propounded by Hultzsch (*op. cit.*) is accepted by Venkayya, *Rep. Arch. Sur. Burma* 1909-10, p. 14, and Coedēs. *BEFEO*, vol. XVIII, No. 6, pp. 5-6.

[2] *BEFEO*, vol. XVIII No. 6. For previous theories *cf. S I. I*, vols. II, p. 106; III, pp. 104-5; *Ann. Report. Arch, Surv.*, 1898-99, p. 17; *Ibid.*, (1907-1908), p. 233; *Madras Review* 1902, p. 251; *Rep. Arch. Suru. Burma*, 1906-1907, p. 19 and 1909-10, p. 14, 1916-17, p. 25;

[3] These are indicated by references to later authorities in footnotes. Unless otherwise indicated, the statements in the text are based upon Coedēs's article (*op. cit.*).

[4] Gerini, *Researches*, p. 513.

[5] *Cf.* Pelliot, *BEFEO*, IV, pp. 326 ff., Gerini, *Researches*, pp. 528 ff.; Ferrand, *JA*, II-XI, (1918), pp. 391 ff., and II-XII, (1918), pp. 51-154.

The Dutch scholars, however, agree in identifying it with Jambi.[2].

MAYIRUDINGAM. Taking the first syllable *mā* as equivalent to Sanskrit *mahā Yiruḍiṅgam* has been identified with *Ie-le-ting* of Chau Ju-kua. Schlegel identified this place with *Ieluton* in the island of Bangka.[3] While Gerini proposed various identifications *viz*., with (1) Jelutong at the south-west of Jambi; (2) Jelutong in Johore and (3) Jelutong in Selangor.[4] Coedēs concludes from a passage of Chau Ju-kua's book that it must be looked for in the centre of the Malay Peninsula, and belongs to the northern-most group of states (in the Malay Peninsula) which were subordinate to the Śailendra empire. Rouffaer, on the other hand, locates it in the extreme south-east of the Peninsula, near Cape Rumania[5].

ILANGAŚOGAM. M. G. Ferrand has identified the country with the *Ling-ya-sseu-kia* which Chau Ju-kua includes among the vassal state of San-fo-ts'i, and also with Leṅka-suka referred to as a tributary state of Majapahit in *Nagarakitagama*.[6] On the basis of a passage in the *Hikayat Maron Mahävaṃśa* Coedes places it in the Kedah Peak (Gunong Jerai).[7] But Ferrand places it in the Isthmus of Ligor[8] while Rouffaer locates it in Johar.[9]

MAPPAPPALAM. Venkayya was the first to point out that this country is mentioned in *Mähavaṃsa*.[10] There

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[1] Coedēs says that according to I-tsing Malayu was in the immediate neighbourhood ('voisinage immediat') of Che-li-fo-che. This is hardly accurate.

[2] Rouffaer, *BKI*, vol. 77 (1921), pp. 11 ff.

[3] *Toung Pao* (1901), p. 134.

[4] Gerini, *Researches*, pp. 627, 826.

[5] Rouffaer, *BKI*, vol. 77 (1921).

[6] Ferrand, *Textes*, p. 647 f.n. 1.

[7] Gerini was the first to point it out; *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 495 ff.

[8] *JA*, II-XII (1818), pp. 134 ff.

[9] *BKI*, 77 (1921), pp. 89 ff.

[10] *Ann. Rep*., 1888-89, p. 17; *Arch. Survey of Burma, Ann. Rep*, 1909-10, p. 14.

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it is referred to as a port in the country of Rammannadesa. But as the authority of the king of Pagan extended far to the south, the location of this place in the western part of the Isthmus of Kra is not barred out.

Rouffaer identifies it with Great 'Pahang.'[1]

MEVILIMBANGAM. M. Sylvain Levi identifies it with Karmaraṅga, the Kāmalaṅka of Hiuen Tsang and places it in the Isthmus of Ligor.[2]

VALAIPPANDURU. Rouffaer identifies it with Pandurang or Phanrang[3] but its accuracy may be doubted.

TALAITTAKKOLAM. It is almost certain that the country is identical with Takkola of *Milindapanho* and Takola of Ptolemy, the word 'Talai' in Tamil signifying 'head' or 'chief'. It must be located in the Isthmus of Kra or a little to the south of it.[4]

MADAMALINGAM. A short inscription found in Jaiya refers to a country called Tāmbraliṅga—which is to be located on the eastern side of the Malay Peninsula between the Bay of Bandon and Nāgor Śri Dharmarāj (Ligor). Damālingam has been identified with Tāmbraliṅgam, mā being equivalent to *mahā*. It is evidently the same as Tan-ma-ling which Chau Ja-kua includes among the tributary states of San-fo-tsi'.

ILAMURIDEŚAM. Leaving aside the initial ; which is often prefixed in Tamil to foreign names, this can be easily identified with Lāmuri of the Arab geographers and Lambri of Marco Polo, situated in the northern part of Sumatra. This country, under the form Lan-wou-li, is included among the tributary states of San-fo-ts'i by Chau Ju-kua.

MANAKKAVARAM. Taking the first syllable as equivalent to *mahā* the place can be easily identified with Nikobar islands. The from Necuveran used by the Marco Polo closely resembles Nakkavaram.

KATAHA, KADARAM, KIDARAM. M. Coedes has shown good grounds to prove that Kaṭāha is the same as the Kie-tcha referred to by the Chinese as a port as early as seventh century A.D. The same place is referred to in later times as Kie-t'o, and Ki-t'o which may be equated to Kaḍa and Kiḍo. As the change of a 'lingual' to 'liquid' was very common in those days, the same place may be identified with Kaḥaḷ or Kila of Arab geographers and also with Ko-lo which Kia Tan places on the northern side of the Straits of Malacca, and Sintang Chou places at the south-east of Pan-pan. All these different names thus correspond, both phonetically and geographically, to the modern Kedah. In a Tamil poem it is referred to as Kaḷagam.

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[1] *BKI*, vol. 77 (1921), p. 83.

[2] *JA.*, vol. CCIII (1923).

[3] *BKI*, vol. 77 (1921), p. 82.

[4] There is a vast literature on 'Takkola'. In addion to the authorities cited by Coedēs, I may refer to the views of S. Levi, *Etudes Asiatique*, vol. II, pp. 3 ff.

It has been seen above that Ilaṅgāśogam is also to be placed in Kedah. But as Ilaṅgāśogam or Gunong Jerai is placed too far in the south of Kedah is; Kedah is also mentioned separately. It may be mentioned that in *Nāgakrtāgama* both Kedah and Leṅkasuka are mentioned as vassal states of Majapahit.[1]

The detailed discussion clearly shows that Rājendra Chola's conquests extended practically over the whole of the eastern coast-region of Sumatra, and the central and southern part of Malay Peninsula, and included the two capital cities Kajāha and Śri-Vijaya. That the story of this victory is not merely an imagination of the court-poets but based on facts, is proved beyond all doubt by the detailed references to the vassal states. It is interesting to note that many of these states are included in the Śailendra empire (San-fo-ts'i) by later Chinese authorities like Chau Ju-kua.[2]

The date of this decisive victory can be ascertained with tolerable certainty. The Inscription No. 3, quoted above, shows that it must have taken place not later than the 13th year of Rājendra Chola. Now, the Tirumalai Inscription,[3] dated in the same year, gives an account of his inland conquests, but does not contain a word about his oversea conquests. If, for example, one compares the Tanjavur Inscription (No. 4 above) with the Triumalai Inscription , it would appear that the former repeats word forward the entire passage in the latter, describing

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[1] *Nagarakrtagama* ch. 16, VV. 13-14.

[2] Chau Ju-kua's account has been translated by Hirth and Rockhill.

[3] *Epi. Ind.*, vol. IX, pp, 229 ff.

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inland conquests of Rājendra Chola, and then adds the passage, quoted above, describing his oversea conquests. It may, therefore, be reasonably presumed, that these oversea conquests had not taken place at the time the Tirumalai Inscription was recorded. As the Tirumalai Inscription is dated in the 13th year, we may presume that these conquests took place during the short interval between the drafting of this record and that of the Inscription No, 3. In other words, the oversea conquests of Rājendra Chola took place in the 13th year of his reign, *i. e.* 1024-25 A.D., possibly during the latter part. We may, therefore, provisionally accept 1025 A.D. as the date of the great catastrophe which befell the Śailendra empire.

But according to the plain interpretation of the Inscription No. 2. quoted above, the hostility broke out much earlier, and as early as 1017-18 A.D., or some time before it, a naval expendition was sent against Kaṭāha. There is nothing surprising in it, for the Inscription No. 1. quoted above clearly shows that early as 1007 A.D. the Cholas had begun an aggressive imperialistic policy to obtain mastery of the seas.

Although it is impossible now to ascertain exactly the cause of either the outbreak of hostility or the complete collapse of the Śailendra power, reference may be made to at least some important factors which contributed to the one or the other. According to the Chola records, the conquest of Kaliṅga and the whole eastern coast up to the mouth of the Ganga was completed before the oversea expedition was sent. Prof. S. K. Aiyangar concludes from a study of all the relevant records that the actual starting point of the oversea expedition was in the coast-region of Kalinga[1] Prof Aiyangar infers from this fact that the conquest of Kaliṅga was undertaken by Rājendra Chola as it "was particularly necessary in view of the overseas expendition that must have become necessary for some reason or other." He holds further "that the Kaliṅgas were possibly rivals in the overseas empire in connection with which the overseas expedition was actually undertaken.

Now these two statements are somewhat vague and perhaps, even contradictory. But it is quite clear that the conquest of Kaliṅga and the whole coastal region furnished the Chola emperor with ample resources for his overseas expedition. The mastery over the ports of Kaliṅga and Bengal, gave him well-equipped ships and sailors accustomed to voyage in the very regions which he wanted to conquer. The naval resources of the whole of the eastern coast of India were thus concentrated in the hands of Rājendra Chola, and it was enough to tempt a man to get possession of the territory which served as the meeting ground of the trade and commerce between India and the western countries on the one hand and the countries of the Far East on the other. The geographical position of the Śailendra empire enabled it to control almost the whole volume of maritime trade between western and eastern Asia and the dazzling prospect which its conquest offered to the future commercial supremacy of the Cholas seems to be the principal reason of the oversea expedition undertaken by Rājendra Chola. But it is the conquest of the eastern coastal regions of India that alone brought such a scheme within the range of practical politics.

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[1] *Journal of Indian History*, vol. II, p. 345.

Although for the time being, the success of the Cholas seems to be complete, from the very nature of the case, it could not have possibly continued for long. The task of maintaining hold upon a distant country across the sea was too great to be borne by the successors of Rājendra Chola and they had too many difficulties at home to think of the empire abroad. Rājādhirāja, the eldest son of Rājendra succeeded him in 1035 A.D. His whole reign was a period of unceasing struggle with the neighbouring powers and he himself fell fighting with the Chālukyas at the battlefield of Koppam in 1052 or 1053 A.D. Vīrarājendra who ascended the throne ten years later no doubt inflicted a severe defeat upon the Chālukyas, but his death in 1070 A.D. followed by a disputed succession and civil war, seriously weakened the prestige and authority of the Cholas. To make matters worse, Kaliṅga freed itself from the yoke of the Cholas and this crippled the naval resources of that kingdom. The supremacy of the Cholas was revived to a considerable extent by Kulottunga Chola (1070-1119 A.D.), the grandson (daughter's son) of the famous Rājendra Chola. He reconquered Kaliṅga, and established peace and prosperity over his extensive dominions during a

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long reign of 49 years.[1]

The relation between the Cholas and the Śailendras and of both to China, during the period of nearly a century 1035-1120 A.D.). of which a short historical sketch has been given above, is referred to in Chola inscriptions and Chinese documents. We give below a short summary of them before drawing any general conclusions.

1. Chola Inscriptions

(a) The Perumber Inscription of Víra Rājendradeva dated in his 7th year (1068-69 A.D.) states[2]:

> "Having conquered (the country of) Kaḍāram, (he) was pleased to give (it) (back) to (its) king who worshipped (his) feet (which bore) ankle-rings."

(b) The small Tamil Leyden Grant[3] dated in the 20th year of Kulottuṅga Chola (1089-90 A.D.) says:

> "At the request of the king of Kiḍāra communicated by his envoys Rājavidyadhara Sāmanta and Abhimānottuṅga Sāmanta, Kullottuṅga exempted from taxes the village granted to the Buddhist monastery called Śailendra Chudāmaṇivarma-vihāra (*i.e.* the one established by king Chulamaṇivarman as referred to in the large Leyden Grant)."

2. Chinese Documents

The following account is given by Ma Twan Lin in respect of an embassy from Pagan in 1106 A.D.[4]

(a) "The Emperor at first issued orders to accord them the same reception and treat them in the same way as was done in the case of the ambassadors of the Cholas (Chu-lien).

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[1] V.A. Smith, *Early History of India* (3rd Ed.), pp. 467–68.

[2] *S II*, vol. III, Part II, p. 202.

[3] *Arch. Surv. of South India*, vol. IV, pp. 226 ff.

[4] D'Hervey and Saint Denys, *Meridionaux*, p. 586 quoted by Coedes, *BEEEO*, XVIII No. 6, p. 8 and Gerini, *Researches*, pp. 624–25.

But the President of the Board of Rites observed as follows : The Chola is a vassal of San-fo-ts'i. That is why in the year hi-ning (1068-1077 A.D.) it was thought good enough to write to the king of that country on a strong paper with an envelope of plain silk. The king of Pagan on the other hand is ruler of a grand kingdom."

The History of the Sung dynasty gives the following accounts of embassies from San-fo-ts'i.

(b) In 1017 the king Ha-ch'i-su-wu-ch'a-p'u-mi sent envoys with a letter in golden characters and tribute.........When they went back, an edict was issued addressed to their king accompanied by various presents.[1]

(c) In 1028, the 8th month, the king Si-li-tieh-hwa (Sri Deva?) sent envoys to carry tribute. The custom was that envoys from distant countries who brought tribute, got a girdle adorned with gold and silver, but this time girdles entirely of gold were given to them.[2]

(d) In 1067 an envoy, who was one of their high chiefs, called Ti-hwa-ka-la, arrived in China. The title of 'Great General' who supports obedience and cherishes renovation was given to him and he was favoured with an imperial edict.[3]

(e) During the period Yüan-fung (1078-1085) envoys came from the country bringing silver, pearls......... The letter they brought was first forwarded to the court from Canton, where they waited until they were escorted to the capital. The Emperor remembered that they had come very far, he gave them liberal presents and then allowed them to return.

The next year he gave them 64,000 strings of cash, 15,000 tales of silver and favoured the two envoys who had come with honorary titles.[4]

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[1] Groeneveldt, *Notes*, p. 65. Ferrand restores the name of the king as "Haji Sumatrabhumi"—the king of Sumatra; *JA*, II-XX, 1922, p. 19 and fn. 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66. Both Groeneveldt and Ferrand (*JA*, II-XX, 1922, p. 20) restore the name as Sri Deva.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 66. Both Groeneveidt and Ferrand (*op. cit.*) restore the name as 'Deva Kala', Coedes suggests Divakara (*BEFEO*, XXIII, p. 470).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

(f) In 1082 three envoys came to have an audience from the emperor and brought golden lotus flowers, etc. They all received honorary titles according to their rank.[1]

(g) In 1083 three other envoys came, who all received honorary titles according to their rank.[2]

(h) In the period Shau-Sheng (1094-97) they made their appearance once again.[3]

Chola Embassies to China

(i) According to Ma Twan Lin an embassy sent by Locha-lo-cha king of Chu-lien reached China in 1015 A.D.[4] Gerini restores this name as Rājarāja (the Great).[5]

(j) According to the Sung-Shih, two kings of Chu-lien sent embassies with tribute to China, Shih-li-lo-cha-yin-to-lo-chu-lo in 1033 A.D. and Ti-wa-ka-lo,[6] in 1077 A.D. Prof. S.K. Aiyangar has restored the first name as Śri-Rājendra Chola.[7]

Now the fact that some time before 1068-69 A.D. Vīra Rājendra conquered Kaḍāram (I-a) shows that the country had regained independence in the meanwhile. Even Rājadhiraja, the immediate successor of Rājendra Chola claimed conquest of Kaḍāram. It would thus appear that for nearly half a century since 1024-25 when Rājendra Chola first conquered the country, the struggle between the two continued with varying degrees of success.

Even the restoration of the king of Kaḍāra, after he had acknowledged the suzerainty of Vīra Rājendra, does not seem to have ended the struggle. On the one hand Kulottuṅga Chola, the successor of Vīra Rājendra, claims to have destroyed Kaḍāram, on the other hand the Chinese represent the Chola power to be subordinate to Śrī-Vijaya (II-a). This conflicting statement perhaps indicates the continuance of the struggle, with alternate success and reverse of both the parties.

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[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.* p. 67.

[4] Hervey and Saint Denys. *Meridionaux*, p. 574.

[5] Gerini, *Researches*, p. 609 fn. 2.

[6] *JRAS*, 1896, p. 490 fn.

[7] *JIH.* vol. II, p. 353.

The embassy from Kaḍāra to the Chola king in 1089-90 A.D. (I-b) seems to mark the beginning of a new era of good will and friendship between the two states. But if the Chinese statement that "Chola is a vassal of San-fo-ts'i" be true of the year 1106 when it was recorded, it would again indicate the resumption of a hostile relation between the two.

On the whole, it would be safe to assume that in spite of the arduous nature of the task, the Chola emperors tried to maintain their hold on the distant oversea empire, at least for nearly a century. It would be too much to assume that they could hope to exercise a rigid control over the distant land. The utmost they could fairly expect was to have their suzerainty acknowledged by the king of Kaḍāra. The latter must have seized every possible opportunity to shake off even this amount of control. On the other hand the Chola emperors were unwilling to give up altogether their pretensions of suzerainty, and able monarchs like Vīra Rājendra and Kulottunga would occasionally fit out a naval expedition to re-establish their authority beyond the sea.

Inspite of the claims of the Cholas to have destroyed Kaḍāram, that kingdom never ceased to function as a separate state. This is proved by the regular despatch of embassies to the court of China throughout the eleventh century A.D. (II. b-h).

The embassy of 1017 was sent by a king, whose Chinese name has been restored by Ferrand as Haji-Suvarnabhumi or king of Suvarṇabhumi (II-b). It must be regarded as some what unusual that this general term is substituted for the proper name of the king which was used in case of the two immediately preceedinge mbassies.

The next embassy was sent in 1028 A.D. by a king whose name seems to correspond to Śrī-Deva (II-c). The Chola emperor must have conquered Kaḍāra shortly before this date, and it may be presumed that this Sri-Deva refers to him or to his viceroy. It is to be noted that the Chinese emperor showed unusual honours to the envoy. This is perhaps due to the mighty fame of Rājendra Chola, who himself sent an envoy to the Chinese court, five years later (II-i).

The envoy who visited the imperial court in 1067 A.D. is called Ti-hwa-ha-la (II-d) and is described as a high dignitary.

It is interesting to note that the Chola king who sent an embassy to China 10 years later was also called *Ti-wa-ka-lo,* (II-j). Now, this Chola king is undoubtedly Rājendra Deva-Kulottunga, and the Chinese name was made up of its second and third parts (Deva-Kulo).[1]

It is not impossible that this Kulottunga was also the envoy, a high dignitary, who visited the imperial court in 1067 A.D. The history of the early years of Kulottunga lends support to this view. He was the daughter's son of Rājendra Chola, and his father was the Viceroy of Veṅgi. But when his father died in *c.* 1061-62 A.D., he did not succeed him, and indeed his position about that period is a mystery. Prof. S .K. Aiyangar writes : "One would naturally expect this Rājendra (Kulottunga) to succeed his father, when he died in 1061-62 or the next year. In all the transactions about the appointment of Vijayāditya VII as Viceroy of Veṅgi we do not hear of the name of Kulottunga."[2]

Then, again, the early inscriptions of Kulottunga affirm that he "gently raised, without wearying (her) in the least, the lotus-like goddess of the earth residing in the region of the rising sun." Prof S.K. Aiyangar. although unaware of the identity of the two names Ti-wa-ka-lo (the Chola king) and Ti-hwa-ka-la, the envoy of Śrī-Vijaya, remarked as follows on the above inscription : "This land of the rising sun cannot well be the country of Veṅgi and if the conquest of Burmah (*sic*) by Rājendra I is accepted, as it must now be, this would only mean that Rājendra Kulottunga distinguished himself as a prince in the eastern exploits of his grandfather, either during Rajendra Chola's reign or under Vira Rājendra when he reconquered Kaḍāram."[3]

For 'Burmah' in the above passage we must, of course, read Kaḍāram. Now, since Kulottunga ruled till 1119. A.D. It is impossible to believe that he was old enough in 1024-25 A.D. to accompany his grandfather Rājendra Chola. The reference is, therefore, possibly to the expedition of Vira Rājendra which took place some time before 1068-69 A.D. (I-a). This fits in with the date of the embassy 1067, A.D.

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[1] This identification was proposed by Prof. S.K. Aiyangar (*JIH*, II, p. 353). I am also indebted to him for the information, based on Tamil inscriptions, that both Rājādhiraja and Kulottunga claimed conquest of Kadāram.

[2] *Ancient India*, p. 129.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 130-31.

If this view be correct, we must hold that Vira Rājendra's conquest has an effective one, and for some time at least the Cholas definitely occupied the kingdom of Kaḍāra Kulottunga evidently held a very high position in the conquered province and possibly paid a visit to China as an ambassador from Kaḍāra with a view to establish a friendly relation with that power.

Kulottugna must have returned to India shortly after, as he ascended the Chola throne in 1070, A.D. and the Perumbar Inscription (I-a) indicates that before doing so, he reinstalled the king of Kaṅāra after he had paid homage and fealty to the Chola emperor.[1]

Once back in his country Kulottunga was faced with a grave political crisis, as noted above. Evidently the king of Kaḍāra took advantage of this to free himself from the yoke of the Cholas. Possibly he came out successful in some engagement with the Cholas and pretended to have established his suzerainty over the latter. The Chinese who got their information from San-fo-ts'i were thus misled into the belief that Chola was a vassal of Śri-Vijaya (II-a). Otherwise, it is impossible to believe, in the absence of any positive evidence, that the king of Kaḍāra could have established any short of claim over the empire of the Cholas.

The successive embassies in 1078, 1083 and 1094 indicate that after the storm of the Chola invasion had blown over, Kaḍāra resumed its normal relationship with the Chinese court.

The political supremacy of the Cholas in the Far East for a period extending over a century is perhaps echoed in the Malayan tradition about the mythical expedition of Raja Suran [Chola?] down the peninsula.[2] In any case, it is positivly

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[1] In addition to what is contained in the following footnote about the grandson of Raja Suran (Chola) the stories of the Chola conquest of Malaya occur in other legends (*cf.* Journal of the *Malaya Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1926, p. 413 and 1932 pp. I ff.).

[2] A grandson of Suran is also said to have founded Singapore. The story is given in full in *Sejarah Malayn*. Tales of friendly correspondence.

It is, of course, impossible to say when these south-Indian names were introduced into Sumatra. In view of the political and trade relations between the two countries in the eleventh century A.D. the large influx of south-Indian people and the consequent introduction of these tribal names may be referred to that period. Of course, with the evidence available at present, it is difficult to determine whether the more peaceful trade-relations preceeded or succeeded the political relations between the two countries. In the modern age we can easily quote examples of either. In many cases, the commercial intercourse has led to political interference, and in many others, political supremacy over a foreign land has led to an intense development of trade of the conquering country. Whether the traders and merchants of south India paved the way for the oversea conquest of the Chola kings, or whether the process was just the reverse of this, the future historian alone will be able to tell.

6

Decline and fall of the Sailendra Empire

The long-drawn struggle with the Cholas which continued throughout the eleventh century A.D., and at one time threatened utter destruction to the Śailendras, ended in a draw.

After fruitless efforts of a century, the Cholas finally abandoned the impossible enterprise of maintaining their suzerainty over Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. The Śailendra kingdom, exhausted and humiliated as it was, slowly recovered its former position.

But although we can definitely trace the existence of the kingdom for nearly three centuries more when it was finally destroyed, the Śailendra dynasty passes from our view. After the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., we hear no more of that powerful ruling family that dominated Malaysia since the end of the eighth century A.D. This does not, of course, mean that they vanished or even ceased to reign, but only that we do not possess any definite information of them. For all we know, they might still continue to rule over the kingdom.

The continuity of the kingdom is, however, clearly attested by the Chinese and perhaps also Arab accounts, which still refer to the prowess of San-fo-ts'i and Zābag.

The Chinese annals refer to two embassies from San-fo-ts'i in the twelfth century A.D.

In the year 1156 king Si-li-ma-ha-la-sha (Śrī Mahārāja) sent envoys to bring tribute. The emperor said, "When distant people feel themselves attracted by our civilising influence, their discernment must be praised. It is therefore, that I rejoice in it, but not because I want to benefit by product of their country."[1]

In the year 1178 they sent again envoys to bring as tribute products of the country. On this occasion the emperor issued an edict ordering that they should not come to court any more, but make an establishment at Chuan-chou in the province of Fukien.[2]

According to Ma-Twan-Lin the ambassadors of 1178 reported that their king had succeeded his father in 1169 A.D. So the emperor invested the new king with all the titles and privileges of his ancestors and made suitable presents.[3]

The Arab writers Edrīsī (1154 A.D.), Kazwīnī, (1203-1283 A.D.), Ibn Said (1208 or 1214 to 1274 or 1286 A.D.) and Dimaski (*c.* 1325 A.D.) all refer to the glory and power of Zābag.[4] But it is difficult to say whether they write from their own personal knowledge or merely quote from old writers, as many others expressly have done. But in any case the Chinese accounts definitely prove the existence of the kingdom.

Fortunately we possess an interesting account of the extent of this kingdom in the twelfth century A.D. from the Chinese work *Chu-fan-chi* ("Records of foreign nations"). The author of this work is Chau-Ju-Kua, Inspector of Foreign Trade in Fukien.[5]

As to the date of this Chinese author Hirth and Rockhill conclude from a remark the author makes in his chapter on Baghdad that the work was composed between 1242 and 1258 A.D.[6] Pelliot has, however, shown that the author wrote the preface to his work in 1225 A.D.[7] We must, therefore, hold that the work was originally written in or about 1225 A.D. although additions and alterations might possibly have been made during the next twenty-five years.

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[1] Groenveldt, *Notes*, p. 67. Both Groenveldt and Ferrand restore the name as Mahārāja. *JA*, II-XX, p. 22.

[2] Groeneveldt, *Notes*, p. 67.

[3] Ferrand, *op. cit.*, p. 22. *n.* 2.

[4] Ibid., pp. 65-74.

[5] *Chau-Ju-Kua, His work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries entitled Chu-fan-chi*. Translated by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, St. Petersburg, (1912).

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

[7] *Toung Pao*, Ser. II, vol. XIII p. 449.

M. Coedés holds the view that Chau-Ju-Kua's account of San-fo-ts'i is almost entirely based on an earlier work *Ling-Wai-tai-ta* written in 1178 A.D. and as such the picture which he draws can only be regarded as true of the period anterior to 1178 A.D.[1] There does not appear to be any valid reason for this assumption. Hirth and Rockhill are definitely of opinion that Chau-Ju-Kua's account of San-fo-ts'i is "based exclusively on oral information furnished to the author by Chinese and foreign traders."[2]

As we shall see later, some details given by Chau-Ju-Kua (e.g., the inclusion of Ceylon as a dependency of San-fo-ts'i) can only be explained if we assume the date proposed above.

In any case we can take Chau-Ju-Kua's account as a correct picture of the state of things in the twelfth century A.D. Now according to this Chinese author, San-fo-ts'i was master of the straits of Malacca and thus controlled the maritime trade between China and the western countries. San-fo-ts'i itself was a great centre of trade, and fifteen states were dependent upon it. These are[3]:

1. Pöng-föng (=Pahang).
2. Tŏng-ya-nöng (=Trengganan).
3. Ling-ya-ssī-kia (=Lengkasuka).
4. Ki-lan-tan (=Kelantan).
5. Fo-lo-an (=Beranang on the Langat river, west coast of Malay Peninsula).
6. Ji-lo-'ting (=Jeloting on the east (?) coast of Malay Peninsula).

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[1] *BKI*, 1927, p. 460.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 13-14. The identifications of names given within bracket are on the authority of Ferrand and Krom, *Geschiedenis* pp. 303-304.

On Nos. 3, 6 and 9, see discussions above, vol. I, pp. 78-79 of this Journal. According to S. Lēvi, Nos. 7 and 8 must be looked for in the Malay Peninsula (*Etudes Asiatiques*, vol. II, pp. 108-9), but Schlegel (*Toung Pao*, Ser. II, Vol. II. 135)and Gerini (*Researches*, p. 627), place them in Sumatra. The identification of No. 5 is on the authority of Gerini (*Researches*, p. 825).

7. Ts'ien-mai.
8. Pa-ta.
9. Tan-ma-ling (=Tāmralinga or Ligor in Malay Peninsula).
10. Kia-lo-hi (=Grahi=Jaya, south of the Bay of Bandon).
11 Pa-lin-fong (=Palembang).
12. Sin-to (=Sunda).
13. Kien-pi (=Kampe or Kampar).
14. Lan-wu-li (=Lamuri=Atjeh).
15. Si-lan (=Ceylon).

In addition to the general list of countries subject to San-fo-ts'i, as given above, Chau-Ju-Kua has given separate accounts of Ling-ya-ssi-kia, Tan-ma-ling, Fo-lo-an, Sin-to, Kien-pi, Lan-wu-li and Si-lan.[1] Among these, the first two and the last had their own kings, but they sent tributes to San-fo-ts'i. No king is mentioned in connection with Fo-lo-an, but the author remarks, "It sends yearly tribute to San-fo-ts'i. Its neighbours Pöng-föng, Töng-ya-nung and Ki-lan-tan are like it." According to Ling-wai-tai-ta the chief of Eo-lo-an was appointed from San-fo-ts'i. This may be true of all the four states.[2] As regards Sin-to Chau-Ju-Kua says : 'As, however, there is no regular government in this country, the people are given to brigandage, on which account foreign traders rarely go there.' About Kien-pi we are told that, "Formerly it was a dependency of San-fo-ts'i, but, after a fight, it set up a king of its own." Nothing is said about the political status of Lan-wu-li, in the very brief note which Chau-Ju-Kua gives more as an introduction to his account of Si-lan, than as an independent account of that kingdom. It would thus appear that Kien-pi had recently shaken off the yoke of San-fo-ts'i, but the other fourteen states were tributary to the power. In spite of a few uncertainties, the identification of these vassal states, as given above, would indicate that the empire of San-fo-ts'i included territories in Sumatra, Java and Malay Peninsula.

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[1] *Chau-Ju-Kua*, pp. 67-73.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 69, *n*. 1.

M. Coedés has attempted to show that although the empire is called by the old name of San San-fo-tsi the seat of the empire was now transferred from San-fo-ts'i to Malaya or Jambi.[1] His principal argument is that Chau-Ju-Kua included Palembang among the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i, and as San-fo-tsi is identical with Palembang, the seat of the empire must be at a place different from Palembang or San-fo-tsi. He rightly points out that while describing the empire of Java or Cambodge Chau-Ju-Kua never includes these names among the list of their vassal states. But Coedēs' argument, as we have indicated above, only discounts the view that San-fo-ts'i is identical with Palembang. The absence of Malaya from the list of vassal states merely indicates that Malaya was no longer dependent on San-fo-ts'i. But neither the inclusion of Palembang nor the exclusion of Malaya gives us any right to maintain, in the face of the express statement of Chau-Ju-Kua about San-fo-ts'i, that, that kingdom had yielded its place of pre-eminence to Malaya.

M. Coedés seeks to support his view by reference to the Jaiya inscription dated 1184 A.D. which refers to Mahārāja Śrīmat-Trailokyarāja-mauli-bhushaṇa-varma-deva and his governor of Grahi, Mahāsenāpati Galanai. Coedes argues that if in 1183 A.D., the name of a king of Malayu appears in a record of Jaiya, it simply means that "Malayu had substituted its own authority in place of Śrīvijaya (*sic*) over the petty states of the Malay Peninsula."[2]

But it is a mere gratutious assumption that Trailokyarāja-mauli-bhūshaṇa-varma-deva is a king of Malayu. Coedés evidently relies on the fact that an inscription found at Padang Rocho in Batanghari district in Jambi, refers to a king named Mahārāja Śrīmat-Tribhuvanarāja-Maulivarma-deva, as ruling in 1286 A.D.[3] In spite of the resemblance in the names of the two kings, who lived a century apart, it would obviously be absurd to regard the royal name as a monopoly of Malayu, and in the absence of any other evidence, to take the earlier king also as a ruler of Malayu, although his records have been found in Malay Peninsula alone. We must remember that the Śailendra emperors also bore names like Chuḍāmanī-Varmadeva.

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[1] *BKI*, 1927, 459 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 469. The Jaiya inscription was originally edited by M. Coedes, *BEFEO*, XVIII, No. 6, pp. 34-5, but the date was wrongly read.

[3] Ferrand, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

Further, Edrīsī (1154 A.D.) clearly says that the king of Kalah Zābag and the neighbouring islands lived in the city of Kalaḥ which is clearly the Kaṭāha of Chola records.[1]

There is thus no reason to disregard the evidence of Arab and Chinese writers that the old kingdom of Zābag or San-fo-ts'i continued in its old glory and splendour till the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Jaiya inscription has perhaps furnished us with the name of the only individual emperor of San-fo-ts'i of the 12th century A.D. known to us. For as Grahi has been identified with Chau-Ju-Kua's Kia-lo-hi, it was a dependent state of San-fo-ts'i towards the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century A.D. The king whose dominions included Grahi as a Governor's province in 1183 A.D. may not therefore, unreasonably be regarded as a king of San-fo-ts'i. It would thus be more proper to regard the Mahārāja Śrīmat-Trailokyarāja-mauli-bhushaṇa-varma-deva as a successor of Chuḍāmaṇi-Varmadeva, though it is difficult to say whether he belonged to the same family.

Chau-Ju-Kua's account of the great power of San-fo-ts'i is corroborated by an independent evidence. About the time when he wrote his book, we come across the name of a king Chandrabhānu in an inscription at Jaiya dated 1230 A.D.[2] Coedés has established beyond all doubt that this king Chandrabhānu is referred to in the Ceylonese Chronicles as having led two expeditions against Ceylon.

The detailed account as given in *Cullavaṃsa* may be summarised as follows :[3]

"In the eleventh year of the reign of king Parākramabāhu II a king of Jāvaka, called Chandrabhānu, landed with an army at Khakkhatā, on the pretext that they were Buddhists and therefore came on a peaceful mission. The soldiers of Jāvaka, who used poisoned arrows, treacherously occupied the passages across the rivers, and, having defeated all those who opposed them, devastated the whole of Ceylon. But the regent Vīravāhu defeated them in several battles and forced them to withdraw from the land. A few years later king Chandrabhānu again landed at Mahātīrtha and his army was, on this occasion, reinforced by a large number of Paṇḍya, Chola and other Tamil soldiers. After some initial successes the Jāvaka army was surrounded and completely defeated by the Ceylonese troops under Vijayabāhu and Vīravāhu, King Chandrabhānu somehow fled with his life, leaving behind his family and treasures in the hands of the victorious enemy."

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[1] *Cf.* my article in *BEFEO*, Vol, XXXIII, p. 131.

[2] Edited by M. Coedes, *BEFEO*, XVIII, No. 6, p. 32.

[3] Geiger (ed.), *Cullavamsa*, *i.e.*, the later continuation of *Māhavaṁsa* Chap. 83, vv- 36-48; Chap. 88, vv. 69-75. The king of Jāvaka mentioned in the passage was taken by Kern to refer to a Javanese king (*V. G.* III, pp. 27 ff.), but he is now usually taken as a king of Srī Vijaya. For a more detailed discussion of the proposed identification *cf. BEFEO*, XXXIII, pp. 133 ff.

The date of these events has been variously interpreted. But Coedés has established on good authority that the two invasions of Chandrabhānu took place in 1236 and 1256 A.D.[1]

Now the inclusion of Ceylon, among the vassal states of San-fo-ts'i has been justly regarded as the most surprising of all, for although Masudi, in his '*Meadow of Gold*' (10th century A.D.) refers to the Mahārāja of Zabag as king of Sirandib of Ceylon[2] there is no historical evidence to show that Ceylon was a vassal state of the Śailendras.

But even in this respect, perhaps, on the face of it, the least credible of all, Chau-Ju-Kua's account is corroborated to a certain extent by the passage of *Cullavaṁsa* quoted above. For the Ceylonese author admits in a way the triumph of the Jāvaka army sometime in 1236 A.D. before Chau-Ju-Kua concluded his work.

It is obvious that Chandrabhānu's invasion of Ceylon was an act of extreme inprudence and had the most regretable consequences. The two expeditions to the distant is land must have taxed the strength of the Jāvaka kingdom to the utmost, and the disastrous end of the second expedition weakened her prestige and authority beyond recovery.

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[1] *BKI*, 1927, pp. 459 ff. Coedes has shown that the date usually assigned to the Ceylonese king Parākramabāhu. II (1240-1275 A.D.) should be pushed back by 15 years. He would thus have ruled from 1215 to 1260 A.D. Coedēs further points out that the account of *Cullavaṁsa* is corroborated by the Pali work *Jinakāla-mālini.*

[2] Ferrand, *Textes*, p. 93.

In an inscription, dated 1264 A.D.[1] Jatāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya claims to have defeated and killed the Sāvaka king, and in another inscription, dated the next year,[2] he includes the king of Kaḍāra among the host of rulers conquered by him. Sāvaka is no doubt the same as Jāvaka and we can easily take the defeat of the kings of Sāvaka and Kaḍāra to refer to a defeat of one and the same king, as in the case of Rājendra Chola. Thus the ill-advised expedition to Ceylon by the king of Kaḍāra was followed at no distant date by his humiliating defeat and death at the hands of the Pāṇḍya king.

The fact that the Pāṇḍya king boasts also of having conquered Ceylon, seems to connect the Ceylonese expedition of Chandrabhānu with his defeat and death at the hands of Jatāvarman. It may be recalled that during his second expedition against that island, Chandrabhānu was helped by troops from Chola and Pāṇḍya countries. Perhaps he made an alliance with these two powers and organised a joint expedition against Ceylon. But like many other similar allied expeditions, it was dissolved on the failure of the project, and then Vīra Paṇḍya presumably took advantage of the helpless situation of Chandrabhānu and turned against him. It is also quite likely that he betrayed first his two allies and then the king of Ceylon, who was temporarily saved by his first betrayal. This would explain the statement in the inscription of 1264 A.D. that Vīra Pāṇḍya "was pleased to take the Chola country, Ceylon, and the crown and the crowned head of Sāvaka." In other words he turned against both his allies and defeated them and ended by conquering Ceylon which was their common objective. This view seems more reasonable than that a regular naval expedition was sent by the Pāṇḍya king against Kaḍāra or Sāvaka.

Chandrabhānu who thus met with a tragic end was the last great ruler of the mighty kingdom founded by the Śailendras.

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[1] *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, 1917, Ins. No. 588, pp. 50, 111.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1912, No. 39, p. 72.

The fact that he is styled the Sāvaka king and king of Kaḍāra, and felt powerful enough to send two military expeditions to Ceylon discounts the view of Coedés referred to above, that Malayu had established its supremacy over the petty states of Malay Peninsula, which once acknowledged the suzerainty of San-fo-ts'i or Zabag. On the whole, the available evidence would justify us in regarding the last-named kingdom as continuing in power and glory till the middle of the thirteenth century A.D.

In the Jaiya inscription, Chandrabhānu is said to have been born in the family of lotus. He is also called Lord of Tāmbraliṅga. It is almost certain, therefore, that he did not belong to the family of the Śailendras. Chau-Ju-Kua describes Tambraliṅga as a vassal state of San-fo-ts'i having a separate ruler. It would thus appear that Chandrabhānu had usurped the authority of his overlord by a successful rebellion. We have seen above that Kien-pi, another vassal state in Sumatra, had also successfully rebelled against San-fo-ts'i about the same time. Thus the disruption of the empire of San-fo-ts'i both in Sumatra as well as in Malay Peninsula set in at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D.

The catastrophic end of Chandrabhānu completed the disruption and gave a unique opportunity to the Javanese king Kṛitanagara to extend his authority over the dominions of the Śailendras. He conquered Pahang in Malay Peninsula which was a vassal state of San-fo-ts'i. He also sent an expedition against Malayu (Jambi) in 1275 A.D. and converted it into a separate state under his own authority. The Padang Rocho inscription of 1286 A.D. referred to above, clearly shows that the new kingdom extended far into the interior and its king Śriīmat Tribhuvanarāja-mauli-varmadeva regarded himself as a vassal of Mahārajādhirāja Kṛitanagara. Thus Java planted important outposts in the very heart of the empire of San-fo-ts'i from which it could gradually extend its power and authority in all directions.

For the time being, however, these calculations were upset by the tragic end of Kṛitanagara and the fall of his kingdom. The Javanese army of occupation was withdrawn from Malayu, and therewith the Javanese authority vanished from the land.

But San-fo-ts'i which was not strong enough to resist the Javanese encroachments was yet too weak to take advantage of this opportunity to reassert its authority over Malayu. Malayu remained an independent kingdom and soon became a powerful rival of San-fo-tsi.

The fact is that San-fo-ts'i had not only to reckon with the growing menace from the side of Java, but also to contend with another great military power, the Thai, who had conquered Siam and were extending their power towards Malay Peninsula. The rise of the Thais of Sukhodaya was an epoch-making event in the history of Indo-China. Towards the close of the thirteenth century A.D. they had conquered the northern part of the Malay Peninsula. We know from the inscription of king Rāma Gamheng of Sukhodaya, dated 1292 A.D. that Śri Dharmarāja of Ligor, one of the vassal states of San-fo-ts'i, had already been conquered by the king of Siam.[1] Thus hemmed in between the rising power of the Thais in the north and the growing kingdom of Malayu in the south, the discomfiture of San-fo-ts'i was complete. She lost her position of supremacy and sank into a local power. Henceforth her possessions in the Malay peninsula formed a bone of contention between Malayu and Siam.

San-fo-ts'i continued this inglorious existence for nearly a century. Wang-ta-yuen (1349 A.D.) refers to its king as a local ruler, and says nothing of the great power and splendour of the Mahārāja.[2] The *Nagarakrtagama* (1365 A.D.) includes Palembang among the list of vassal states of Java, and the Chinese accounts refer to the conquest of San-fo-ts'i by Java sometime before 1377 A.D. According to the History of the Ming Dynasty[3] the Chinese emperor sent an envoy in 1370 A.D. "to command the presence of this country, and in the next year (1371 A.D.) the king, who was called Mahārāja Prabu sent envoys with tribute and a letter written on a golden leaf."

By the year 1373 A.D. San-fo-ts'i was divided into three states and their rulers, named Tan-ma-sa-na ho, Ma-na-hapan-lin-pang,[1] and Seng-ka-liet-yu-lan[2] sent envoys with tribute to the imperial court respectively in 1373, 1374 and 1375 A.D.

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[1] Coedes, *Inscriptions de Sukhodaya* (1924), pp. 37-48.

[2] *T'oung Pao*, (16) 1915, pp. 61-69.

[3] Groeneveldt, *Notes*, pp. 68 ff. ; Ferrand, *JA*, 11-XX (1922) pp. 24 ff.

In the year 1376 A.D. king Tan-ma-sa-na-ho died and his son Ma-la-cha-wa-li succeeded him. In 1377 A.D., he sent tribute to the emperor and asked permission of the imperial court to ascend the throne. This interference of China in the affairs of a vassal state caused the just resentment of the Javanese who had conquered San-fo-tsi. They waylaid and killed the imperial envoys who were bringing to Ma-la-cha-wa-li the seal and commission of the king of San-fo-ts'i.

Thus there can be no doubt that Java now exercised an effective authority over the kingdom of San-fo-ts'i which was hopelessly divided and sank gradually into insignificance. The Chinese historian pathetically remarks, "After this occurrence San-fo-ts'i became gradually poorer and no tribute was brought from this country any more."

During the next twenty-five years the destruction of San-fo-ts'i was completed. Its condition in 1379 A.D. is thus described in the *History of the Ming Dynasty* :

> "At that time Java had completely conquered San-fo-ts'i and changed its name to Kiu-Kiang.[3] When San-fo-ts'i went down, the whole country was disturbed and the Javanese could not keep all the land. For this reason, the local Chinese residents stood up for themselves and elected as their chief a man from Nan-hai in Canton, called Liang Tau Ming, who had lived there a long time and roamed over the sea, and who had the support of several thousand men from Fukien and Canton."

In other words, a Chinese pirate set himself up as overlord in a part at least of what was once the flourishing kingdom of the Śailendras. This was no doubt due to the weakness of Java. Java was able to destroy the old kingdom but could not build up a new one in its place. Krom even goes so far as to think, that the destruction of San-fo-ts'i was a deliberate act on the part of Java. In order to wipe off from the face of the earth a power that had been in the past, and might be in future, a great rival in political and economic spheres, she intentionally and systematically laid waste the country, which afterwards became a strong hold of Chinese adventurers.

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[1] Ferrand, restores this name as Mahārājā—Palembang.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 25, *n*, 2. Ferrand suggests that this king is identical with the minister sent by Java to the Imperial Court in 1325 and 1332 A.D.

[3] Groeneveldt, *Notes*, p. 71, n. 1. Kiu-Kiang is the Chinese name for Palembang up to the present day but cannot be taken as equivalent to San-fo-ts'i. It must have denoted only a part of that kingdom. I have discussed this point in an article in *BEFEO*, vol. XXIII, p. 135.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. San-fo-ts'i passes from our view. One or more Chinese adventures establish authority in that hapless land from time to time, but their history and intercourse with the imperial court, described in detail in the *History of the Ming Dynasty*, is outside the scope of this essay.

In conclusion we may refer to Kaḍāra. If we are right in identifying it with Keddah we may refer to *Keddah Annals (Hikayat Marong Mahāvaṃsa)* for the seven Hindu rulers of thə State before the last one adopted Islam in 1474. A.D.[1]

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[1] R.O. Winstedt, *History of Kadah*, *J. Str.Br. RAS*, No. 81, p. 29.

7

The Overseas Expeditions of King Rajendra Chola

A great deal of literature has grown up around this fascinating topic of Indian history, but some aspects of it have not yet received the attention they deserve.

The first question I propose to treat in this paper is the beginning of Rajendra Chola's overseas expeditions, which I discussed at some length nearly a quarter of a century ago.[1]

In the second edition of *The Colas*, published in 1955, Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri observes : "Rajendra's overseas expedition against Kaḍāram is mentioned for the first time in his inscriptions of the fourteenth year."[2] He then goes on to say that the Tiruvalangadu Plates record that the king conquered Kaṭāha. As this inscription is dated in the sixth year of Rājendra, there is a contradiction which is left unexplained. Sixteen pages earlier, indeed, the author says that the account in the Sanskrit part of the Tiruvalangadu Plates was "quite obviously" written much later.[3] But is it really obvious that a record expressly dated in the sixth year of the reign should be taken to have been written much later? In lieu of an explanation, Professor Sastri refers, in a footnote, to the *Annual Report of the Government Epigraphist for the year 1906, II*, 13. Here we find a statement to the effect that as the Sanskrit portion of the Tiruvalangadu Plates refers to the conquest of Kaṭāha, which figures only in Tamil inscriptions of the 16th and later years of Rajendra, it may be concluded that it was subsequently composed.[1] I discussed this point and showed that this argument has little force. For, in the first place, the assumption that Rajendra's conquest of Kaṭāha figures only in Tamil inscriptions of the 16th and later years has proved to be wrong, as it is mentioned in at least four earlier Tamil inscriptions to which reference will be made later. Secondly, even if the assumption were true, there is nothing to indicate that the conquest took place in the year in which it is first mentioned in any epigraphic record. It has been mentioned in several records without specifying the date when it took place.

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[1] R.C. Majumdar, *Suvarnadvipa*, Part I, p. 171, fn., 2.

[2] *Colas*, second edition, p. 211.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

Professor Sastri quotes the full account from a record of the 14th year. As a matter of fact, the conquest of Katāha by Rajendra is mentioned in two other earlier Plates referred to by Professor Sastri in a footnote which reads as follows :

> "I am not sure of the correctness of the date in a record from Malur of the 13th year (*EC*, IX, cp. 84) which also gives the full introduction. There is a fragment dated in the 11th year from Kuruburu (Mysore) mentioning the conquest of Kaḍāram (*EC*, X. ct. 47). But the date is obviously too early; perhaps an instance of a gift of the 11th year recorded some years later."[2]

If, however, we accept the normal meaning of epigraphic records, it is more reasonable to conclude that Rajendra Chola had sent a naval expedition against Kaḍāram, some time before his sixth year, *i.e.* 1017-18 A.D.

In a later book Professor Sastri has advanced some objection against this, which may be quoted in full :

> "Following Majumdar Coedes has stated that from 1007 A.D. Rājarāja boasted of his conquest of 12,000 islands. It is perhaps worth noting that this is a reference to the Maldives. (See *Colas*, I, p. 220). Again Coedés mentions two expeditions of Rajendra against Kaṭāha-Śrīvijaya, the first in 1017 and the second and greater one, in 1025. This

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[1] Cf. p. 67 of the Report.

[2] *Colas*, second edition, p. 140, fn., 86.

> is extremely unlikely. The data on which Majumdar relies for the supposed first expedition are neither reliable nor conclusive (See *Colas* I, p. 254 and nn.). Rājarāja died in 1014 and for some time after his death Rājendra was still on friendly terms with Māravijayōttuṅgavarman and confirming the grants made to the *vihāra* at Negapatam in the larger Leiden grant; 1017 appears altogether too early a date for a Cola expedition against Śrīvijaya, and there is, in fact, no evidence for it."[1]

It is difficult to understand the first two sentences. Neither I nor Dr Coedés (following me) held that the conquest of the 12,000 islands referred to the Malay Peninsula. My contention that "as early as 1007 A.D. the Colas had begun to pursue the policy of making maritime conquests"[2] holds good even on the assumption that 12,000 islands refer to the Maldives. Professor Sastri dismisses my theory (accepted by Dr Coedés) of the first expedition in 1017-18 by a statement to the effect that the data on which I relied "are neither reliable nor conclusive". He refers the reader to p. 254 of *Colas*, I (first edition of his book) and the notes, presumably for evidence, but I find nothing on that page, either in the text or in the notes, in addition to what has been stated above. The argument he advanced in the last sentence of the passage quoted above is hardly conclusive. It is very difficult to uphold the view that because two rulers were on friendly terms for some time after 1014 A.D., 1017 A.D. is too early a date for the outbreak of hostilities between them. The history of the world records many instances of such change of relations between two rulers in much less time.

The grounds on which I suggested that Rajendra sent two expeditions against Kaṭāha—one in or before the sixth year (1017-18), and another in or before the 13th year of his reign (1024-25 A.D.) have been fully stated in my book,[3] and need not be repeated here. My principal argument at the time when this book was written has been, perhaps unconsciously, restated by Professor Sastri in the following words :

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[1] *History of Sri Vijaya* (1949), p. 79, fn., 13.

[2] *Suvarnadvipa*, Part I, . 171.

[3] *Ibid.*, fn., 2.

> "While the Tiruvālangāḍu Plates dismiss this achievement in a half verse which merely records that the king conquered Kaṭāha with his powerful troops that had crossed the ocean, the Tamil *praśasti* gives a detailed narrative of the expedition."[1] The contrast between the brief and passing reference to the conquest of Kaṭāha in the earlier plates and the detailed account, in later plates, of the conquest of extensive regions, subordinate to Kaṭāha, may not unnaturally be regarded as referring to two distinct expeditions.[2]

It may be held on general grounds that the great naval expedition described in detail in the later records—unique in the history of India—was the culmination, rather than the beginning, of an imperial policy. For it is difficult to regard the big naval expedition as an isolated event, or a policy suddenly conceived without any historical background which led to the occasion for it. But when I spoke of two expeditions, I had to base my conclusion merely on the difference in the manner of mentioning them in the earlier and later records of Rājendra Chola. Fortunately, fresh evidence has recently come to light which goes a long way in supporting the hypothesis mentioned above, namely that Rājendra Chola (may be also his father) had begun to play a part in the politics of Indo-China long before the great naval expedition, and his political relation or imperial policy was not confined to the Śailendra Empire, but extended far beyond it.

This evidence is furnished by 55 copper plates, found in the village of Puttur, of which a brief account is given in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1949-50*.[3] According to this account the plates form a single document written in both Sanskrit and Tamil, both the parts being dated in the 8th year and the 107th day of the reign of Rājendra Chola I. Here the context leaves no doubt that not only these two parts, but also a third, form three sections of a single document, though the plates comprising each of these sections are numbered independently.

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[1] *Colas*, second edition, p. 211.

Further evidence in support of it has been given later.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 3-4.

The following passage in the brief summary of this record throws fresh light on the whole question at issue :

> "Of Rājendra Chola I, the donor of the grant, the first notable event of the reign recorded is that the king of Kāmboja sent his chariot as a present to the Chola monarch in order to win the latter's friendship and thereby save his own kingdom. Apparently Kāmboja here stands for Cambodia in the Far East and not Kāmbhōja in the north-west of India as the Cholas are not known to have ever gone so far to the north-west. As the Chola king's expedition to Katāha, *i.e.*, Kedah in the Malay Peninsula, is referred to further in the present account, the Kāmbōja ruler figuring here is possibly different from the Śailendra king of Kaṭāha."[1]

In the first place, this record proves that the conquest of Kaṭāha must have taken place before the 8th year of Rājendra Chola. This refutes the opinion of those who hold that Rājendra's expedition against Kaḍāram did not take place before the 14th year, and who reject the evidence of Tiruvalangadu Plates of the 6th year which refer to the same.[2] The new Puttur Plates thus show that there are no good grounds for the view that the Sanskrit part of the Tiruvalangadu Plates was composed much later than the Tamil part. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the Puttur Plates also refute one argument advanced in favour of this supposition, namely that the plates containing, respectively, the Sanskrit and Tamil parts, are numbered separately. For, as mentioned above, even in the case of the Puttur Plates, those forming the three consecutive sections of a single document are numbered independently. On the whole, the Puttur Plates undoubtedly corroborate the view that an expedition against Kaṭāha was sent before the 6th regnal year of Rājendra Chola.

But the most interesting and important information supplied by the new record is the diplomatic intercourse between

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[2] Unless ,of course,! the evidence of these plates is also rejected on the same flimsy grounds on which the Sanskrit part of the Tiruvalangādu Plates has been referred to a later date.

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Rājendra Chola and the King of Kambuja. It follows from the cryptic statement that the King of Kambuja made overtures to the Chola king and sent him presents to win his friendship and thereby save his kingdom. This may be interpreted in two ways. It may be that Rājendra Chola threatened to invade Kambuja, and her King tried to avert the disaster by conciliating him. It is, however, equally, or even more likely in view of the language of the record, that the King of Kambuja was eager to enlist the support of Rajendra against an enemy who threatened his kingdom. Now, as this episode is the first notable event of the reign of Rajendra, mentioned in the new record, dated in the 8th year, it probably occurred quite early in his reign, and in any case the diplomatic intercourse between the two kings must have commenced some time before the 8th year, as the communication between the two countries in those days naturally took a long time, and the offer of the chariot was evidently preceded by some kind of negotiations.

Now we know from the history of Kambuja that the death of King Jayavaraman V in 1001 A.D. was followed by a civil war between three claimants to the throne, and Sūryavarman I, who ultimately succeeded to the throne, had to carry on a war for nine years, presumably after 1002 A.D.[1]

The origin of Suryavarman is obscure, and he does not seem to have any legitimate claim to the throne. Professor Coedés has propounded a theory, on the basis of a statement in the *Camadevīvaṁsa*, that Suryavarman was originally a prince of Ligor in the Malay Peninsula[2]—a place which was not far from Keddah or Kaḍāram (Kaṭāha), the seat of the Śailendra kingdom, which was invaded by Rajendra in or before the 6th year of his reign.

We may now proceed to discuss the identity of the king who threatened the Kambuja kingdom in or some time after 1012, unless he were Rājendra Chola himself. If we remember that Rajendra invaded Katāha shortly afterwards, and that this episode is also mentioned in the same record, it is not unlikely that it was the Śailendra King of Kaṭāha or Keddah, against whom the King of Kambuja sought the help of Rājendra Chola. This would explain the outbreak of hostility between Rājendra Chola and the Śailendra King of Kaṭāha. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Sanskrit portion of the larger Leyden Grant refers to Māra-vijayottunga-varman, King of Śrī-Vijaya, who ascended the throne of Kaṭāha shortly after 1005 A.D., as *Katāh-adhipatyam-atanvata*, or extending the suzerainty of Kaṭāha.[1] This fits in with the theory that he was the enemy feared by King Suryavarman of Kambuja, for, taking advantage of the troubles caused by the civil war, the King of Kaṭāha, might have adopted an aggressive policy towards Suryavarman.

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[1] R.C. Majumdar, *Kambuja-desa*, p. 115.

[2] *BEFEO*, XXV, pp. 24-25.

It is evident from the detailed description of the overseas expeditions of Rājendra Chola, occurring in several records, that he sent a naval expedition against Sangrāma-Vijayottuṅga-varman, King of Kaḍāram (Kaṭāha =Keddah). This detailed description indirectly supports the view that there were two separate Chola naval expeditions against Kaṭāha. For, it begins by saying that Rajendra sent many ships against Kaḍāram and captured the King along with his elephants and treasures. It then refers to his conquest of Srī-Vijaya, Paṇṇai, Malaiyur, Māyiruḍingam (all of which were probably in Sumatra), then eight other places, and finally Kaḍāram (Keddah). Now if the reference were to one and the same expedition, it is not easy to explain why the conquest of Kaḍāram is mentioned both at the very beginning, as well as at the end, after the conquest of a series of other places. The probability, therefore, is that the first part of the account refers to a naval expedition which only conquered Kaḍāram. The rest refers to a separate and more serious and comprehensive campaign in which Rājendra first conquered Śrī-Vijaya, then quite a large number of other kingdoms—presumably vassals of Śrī-Vijaya, and finally Kaḍāram.

This is undoubtedly a mere hypothesis. But it gives a more rational explanation of the stereotyped account of the overseas expeditions of Rājendra Chola; and it also explains why the earlier records merely make a brief reference to the expedition against Kaṭāha, whereas the later records give a detailed account of the various conquests. Presumably this account was composed after the final conquest of the Śrī-Vijaya Kingdom by Rājendra Chola, and it gave a summary of the two (if not more) naval expeditions in a consolidated form.

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[1] *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 242 (line 81 of the Grant). The editor gives a different translation, *viz.*. "who was conducting the rule of Kaṭāha" (p. 257), but the usual meaning of the verb *tan* is "to expand, extend stretch, etc."

If this view be accepted, we may further presume that the first naval expedition, directed only against Kaṭāha, was in response to the appeal of King Sūryavarman of Kambuja for aid against the ruler of Kaḍāram (Kaṭāha) whose aggressive expansionist policy caused anxiety to the Kambuja ruler. The hostilities thus begun, led to the second expedition on a bigger scale which shattered the empire of Śrī-Vijaya, extending over the Malay Peninsula and Indonesia, at least for the time being.

In conclusion, it is hardly necessary to add that the new information about Rājendra Chola's, intercourse with Kambuja, though opening a new vista of the overseas activities of the Cholas, is yet so meagre, that no definite conclusion is possible, and we may at best make a hypothesis such as has been attempted above.

8

Origin of the Art of Sri-Vijaya

The kindom of Śrī-Vijaya in Sumatra occupies an important place in the history of Hindu colonisation in Indonesia. Its origin may go back to the fourth century A.D., as Ferrand has concluded from a reference in the Chinese translation of a Buddhist *Sutra*.[1] But we know definitely from I-tsing that it had grown into an important and powerful state in the latter half of the seventh century A.D.[2] and this is fully corroborated by epigraphic evidence.[3]

It is clear from I-tsing's account that Śrī-Vijaya was an important centre of Buddhism in his time, and what is still more significant, for our present purpose, it was the earliest seat of the *Mahayana* sect in Indonesia which played a great role in the evolution of art in that region.[4]

In view of these things it is only natural that the art of Śrī-Vijaya should merit serious attention of those who seek to study the origin of Indo-Javanese and allied arts. A study of this question has been rendered somewhat easier by the recent finds of some sculptures in and around Palembang which is usually identified with ancient Śrī-Vijaya.

A detailed account of the recent explorations in Sumatra has been given in *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (1928, 1930). A short but very interesting paper on this subject written in

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[1] *Journal Asiatique* ii-xx (1922), p. 210.

[2] *Takakusu, I-tsing*, pp. XXXIV, 10-11.

[3] *BEFEO* vol. XVIII, No. 6.

[4] I-tsing, *Memoire*, etc., pp. 60, 63, 159, 182, 189.

English by Dr. Krom[1] has made the discoveries known to Indian scholars. On the basis of this article Mr Devaprasad Ghosh has contributed a paper on the "Early Art of Śrī-Vijya".[2] I am unable to agree with some of the most important conclusions arrived at in these papers.

Krom, and following him, Mr. Ghosh, have justly attached the greatest importance to a fragmentary stone torso of a Buddha image[3]. The only characteristic feature of this torso is the drapery 'showing prominent folds of the robe'. As all the known Javanese figures of the Buddha have a close-fitting robe, the contrast offered by the torso naturally induced the Dutch scholars to look for its orgin to India. At first it was attributed to Gandhāra influence, but Krom pointed out some differences from Gandhāra style and observed : "We feel, therefore, more inclined to assume a connection with some Indian school of art in which the Graeco-Buddhist principles are found in a modified and Indianised form, *e.g.*, that of Amarāvati."[4] Mr Ghosh remarks : "His (Krom's) conclusions on this point are highly convincing. They are not merely tentative, as he modestly observes. In fact there cannot be any other opinion on the relic in question where we can safely ascribe on stylistic grounds to a period not later than the 4th century A.D."

As the head, arms and legs of the image are all missing we have to base our conclusions only on the folded drapery. As Krom implies, this sort of drapery, originating from Gandhāra, was adopted in different parts of India. I may note in passing that fold-lines representing drapery are noticed in the sculptures of Bhārhut and Bodh Gaya,[5] which are certainly not attributable to Gandhāra influence. But, apart from this, the so-called Gandhāra fold is observed in sculptures of Mathurā, Bihar and Ceylon.[6] It is, therefore, premature to conclude definitely that the

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[1] *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* 1931, pp. 29-33.

[2] *JGIS*, vol. 1, pp. 31-38.

[3] *Annual Bibliography* 1931, pl. XI, a-b; *Journal of the Greater India Society*, vol. I, a.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[5] Coomaraswamy, *History of India and Indonesian Art*, Figs. 40-44.

[6] *Ibid.*, Figs. 158, 160, 293.

Sumatran Buddha image is derived from the Amarāvatī school.

In this connection we must consider also the bronze images of Buddha, Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya found near Palembang[1] to which sufficient attention has not yet been paid. Krom remarks that they "might easily be taken for Javanese bronzes."[2] Mr Ghosh further develops the idea : "But though various details in their case show the characteristics of Javanese Śailendra art, their design and conception along with certian other details *e.g.*, the *jatamukuta*, the full squarish face, the necklace and *uttriya* and lastly the flowing curves of the swelling sensuous body fashioned with delicate touches are reminiscent of the Pāla art of Bengal."[3]

In my opinion these remarks are totally inapplicable, at least to the image of Buddha. It appears that both Krom and Mr Ghosh were largely influenced by the current view that Śrī-Vijaya formed the seat of the Śailendra empire from the seventh century and that this empire included Java in the eighth century A.D. I have tried to show elsewhere that this is not the case,[4] and Coedés, who was mainly responsible for the view so generally held, has admitted the soundness of my views. He states that there are no reasonable grounds to affirm that before the 11th century the kings of Śrī-Vijaya belonged to the Śailendra dynasty or that they reigned at Śrī-Vijaya[5].

If we once get rid of the prevailing conception that Śri-Vijaya and Java were closely connected by the political authority of the Śailendras, we may see the art of Śrī-Vijaya in its true perspective. In my opinion the bronze Buddha figure of Palembang is akin to a Javanese figure only in those respects which both derived from India. But the Palem-figure more closely resembles what we are accustomed to call the Gupta style, in Sarnath and other parts of northern India prior to the seventh or eighth century A.D. A comparison with any figure of Buddha during Pala period would show the difference. I may draw particular attention to the following features:

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[1] *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1930, pl. 45, and *AB*, *A*, 1931, pl. X c.d.e.

[2] *Ibid.*, p., 31

[3] *Ibid.*, pp., 35-36.

[4] *BEFEO*, vol. XXXIII pp. 121-141.

[5] *JGIS* vol. 1, p. 65.

(a) Both the shoulders of the image are covered. As is well-known, this feature is rare in Java, where, with a few exceptions, the standing images have their right shoulder uncovered. Dr Bosch has concluded after a careful consideration of all available specimens that "the few Javanese images which have both shoulders covered must represent the orthodox Hindu-Javanese type and must belong to an early period."[1] Dr Bernet Kempers has further discussed the problem and he thinks it "more probable that the origin of this type must be sought in Gupta art . . ."[2]

(b) The fulnes sof features, the general breadth of treatment, the ascetic and benevolent expression, the simplicity and inherent vigour—all these characteristics mark the figure as Gupta.

(c) The peculiar Pala features are all absent. I do not wish to discuss this point in detail as Bernet Kempers, who has made a special study of Pala bronzes, has arrived at the same conclusion. Thus, he remarks : "If the images from Jaiya and Palembang or the bronze Avalokitesvara which was discovered in the Great Stupa of Barabudur are scrutinised in search of Pala features, it turns out that they show none."[3] I arrived at this conclusion independently in respect of the bronze Buddha image of Palembang and am unable to accept the views of Mr Ghosh that this image is related to the Pala art of Bengal.

We may thus be tolerably certain that the art of Śrī-Vijaya was the product of Gupta art. If we remember that the colossal copper statue of Buddha found at Sultanganj in the Bhagalpur district shows distinct folding lines of drapery[4] we need have no difficulty in referring both the stone torso and the bronze images of Palembang to Gupta art.

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[1] *TBG*, vol. 57 (1915), pp. 97-116; vol. 61 (1922), p. 253. Dr Bosch's views are summarised by Bernet Kempers—, *The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese Art*, p. 20.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

[4] Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, Fig. 160.

We may indeed go even a step further and trace the further progress of this Gupta art to central Java. The famous Buddha images of Barabudur definitely recall the classic Buddha images of the Gupta period in all essentials. I need not dilate on this point, as it requires a separate treatment. I merely wish to stress the fact that it is reasonable to take that Śrī-Vijaya which was the centre of *Mahāyānism* in Indonesia, served as the channel through which, along with the religion, the art-traditions of India also flowed to Java. Once we accept this we may postulate two definite periods in the evolution of Indo-Javanese and Indo-Sumatran art. First, the earlier period during which the Gupta influence was dominant, and secondly, the later period, when, as a result of intimate contact between the Śailendras and the Palas, the Pala traditions gradually made their influence felt.[2] It is difficult to adopt a definite chronological basis, but the ninth century A.D. may be regarded as the dividing line between the two periods. In other words, broadly speaking, Indo-Javanese (including Indo-Sumatran) art passed through the same phases as the art of eastern India.

Reference has been made above to the theory that the stone torso of Palembang belongs to the Amarāvatī school. Formerly, there was a general theory that Javanese art originated from the Amarāvati school, but this is denied by Krom. In discussions of this kind it is well to remember that when we refer to a school as the origin, we should not rely upon is olated images, but upon the style generally displayed in images of a particular locality. Again, in judging the bronze images we should adopt a further caution in correlating them as far as possible with the stone sculptures of the locality.

If we bear these points in mind the force of argument about the Amarāvati school would be considerably weakened. Mr Ghosh holds the view that in addition to the stone torso the little bronze Buddha head of Palembang[2] which Krom declared to be definitely "un-Javanese" in character also belongs to the Amarāvati school.[3] It may be noted in

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[1] Bernet Kempers, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[2] *Oudheidknndig Verslag* 1930, pl. 44 C; *ABIA 1931*, pl. X, a-b.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

passing that by classifying this "un-Javanese" bronze Buddha head as of the Amarāvatī school Mr Ghosh indirectly gives up the case for the Amarāvatī origin of Javanese art. But apart from this let us consider Mr Ghosh's view independently.

Mr Ghosh thinks that the bronze Buddha head of Palembang is closely akin to the bronze Buddha heads from Buddhapadu near Vijayawada, though he admits that it is fundamentally different from the bronze Buddha statuettes discovered at Amarāvati itself. But anyone who compares the illustrations given in Sewell's plate 2, to which Mr Ghosh refers, will, I feel sure, be convinced that it is difficult to conceive of two bronze Buddha heads more unlike each other. It is only fair to admit that no prototype of this Buddha head is known so far.

Mr Ghosh's view about the stone image of Avalokitesvara[1] found in Palembang is also hardly convincing. In opposition to the views of Dr Bosch and Dr Krom that southern India exercised no influence of any importance on the art of Śrī-Vijaya, Mr Ghosh holds that this image of Avalokitesvara "is almost an echo of the monumental Pallava reliefs of the 7th century at Mamallapuram."[2] Here, again, the resemblance is only superficial. The figure is no doubt a remarkable one and possesses certain definite traits of classic Gupta art. But prototypes of this are met with in so distant localities as Kaliṅga and Kanheri and it is premature to draw any definite conclusions about the particular school from which it originated.

To sum up, we have hitherto discussed four images found in Palembang and its neighbourhood, *viz.*, 1. Stone Buddha torso; 2. Bronze Buddha; 3. Bronze Buddha head; and 4. Stone Avalokitesvara.

In the first place it is admitted by all that these images are absolutely un-Javanese. This proves that a school of art flourished in Śrī-Vijaya which was entirely independent of Java.

Secondly, No. 2 is undoubtedly a product of the Gupta school and that is also probably the case with Nos. 1 is and 4, though No. 1 is probably older and No. 4 later than No. 2 All these three may be referred to the period from the 4th to the 7th century A.D. The source of No. 3 is unknown.

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[1] *ABIA 1931*, pl. XII d.

[2] Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 33. pl. 1 fig. 1.

Thirdly there are reasons to belive that along with the *Mahāyāna* form of Buddhism this Gupta art tradition also probably flowed from Śrī-Vijaya to Java. Lastly, the Pala influence was superimposed upon this art from the ninth century onwards.

These views are put forward as merely tentative, as is indeed bound to be the case when conclusions have to be based on so imperfect data.

9

The Hindu Society in Java and Bali

The Indian settlements in Java date from the second century A.D., if not earlier, and the Hindu culture flourished there till the end of the fifteenth century A.D. The beginnings of Indian colonization in Bali are later, perhaps by several centuries, than those of Java, but in this small island Hindu culture has survived even to this day.

The social organisation evolved by the Indian colonists in these new homes can only be dimly perceived. But enough remains to show that definite and deliberate attempts were made to introduce the Hindu social fabric, though they did not meet with as complete a success as in the case of religion.

The fundamental basis of the Hindu society, and one which distinguishes it from all other known societies, is the system of caste. That this was introduced in Java is clear from the occurrence of the word '*chaturvarṇa*' and frequent reference to the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Śudras. It will be, however, too much to assume that this caste system was the same as prevalent in Hindu society today, and we are not sure if the caste system there meant anything more than a theoretical recognition of the division of the people into four grades. But, then, it is necessary to remember that the same was also the case in at least many parts of India in earlier times, and that the influence of Buddhism and Tantrik religion obliterated the distinctions of caste to a considerable degree in later periods. It is, therefore, difficult to draw a sharp line of distinction between the system of caste in Java and that in India.

This view is strengthened by the fact that the Indian caste system, such, for example, as is described in *Manu Saṁhita*, prevails in its essential features, even to day among the Balinese, the only people who have retained the old Hindu religion and customs. In order to convey an idea of the caste system after its transplantation in the distant colonies, we can do no better than draw a picture of the system as it prevails today among the Balinese of Bali and Lombok

The people are divided into four castes, Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vesya (Vaisya) and Śūdra. The first three castes are 'twice-born' (*dvijāti*) while the Śudras are '*ekajati*' (once-born).

Marriage among different castes is prevalent, but while a man can marry a girl of his own or lower caste, a woman can only marry one of equal or higher caste. The union between a woman with a man of lower caste is punishable by death. The children of mixed marriages belong to the caste of the father, though they differ in rank and status according to the caste of their mother.

The Brāhmaṇas are divided into two broad classes according as they are worshippers of Śiva or Buddha. The first is again subdivided into five groups, originating mainly from the marriage with lower castes. To the Brāhmaṇa caste belong the *Padaṇḍas* or priests. The *Padaṇḍas* of the highest rank observe strict *Brahmacharya* (celibacy) and usually the *Padaṇḍas* are expected to have only one wife. But in practice the *Padaṇḍas* marry wives, even from a lower caste. The Brāhmaṇas are usually styled '*Ida*' (male) and *Idayu* (female).

The Kshatriyas are also subdivided into five classes. Some, but not all the royal families in Bali belong to this caste. Their usual title is '*Deva*' for the man and '*Desak*' (*Skt. Dāsī*?) for the woman.

Among the third caste, the Vaisyas, the *Aria* (*Arya* ?) forms the chief group to which belong the royal families in Bali who are not Kshatriyas. Their title is *Gusti*, for the male, and *Gusti-ayu* for the female. The '*Vargi*' and '*Salit*' form the other two Vaisya groups.

The Śudras, known generally as *Kaulas* are not despised as impure or untouchable. Impurity, according to the Balinese conception, is the consequence of certain acts such as, for example, (*a*) using water in which a dead body has been washed, (*b*) being reduced to slavery by legal process, (*c*) attempt to commit sucide, (*d*) refusing to become a *sati* (*i.e.*, burning herself with her dead husband) after making a declaration to that effect, etc. The duration of impurity varied according to circumstances. Sometimes men of higher castes are degraded to the rank of a Śūdra.

The different castes are not tied down to specific occupations, and men of all castes follow agriculture. The Śūdras, in addition to agriculture, also follow other arts and crafts.

In Bali we meet with another characteristic feature of ancient Indian caste system, the privileges enjoyed in law courts by the higher caste. Here, again, for the same offence, the law lays down punishment in inverse ratio to the superiority of the caste of the offender.

As to the superiority, although the four castes held a relative position similar to that in India, the ruling princes, be they of Kshatriya or Vaisya caste, are regarded as superior to their Brāhmaṇa subjects. This is due to the theory that kings are representatives of God. It must be noted, however, that although superior, even a king cannot marry a Brāhmaṇa girl. In practice, however, even this is done by legal subterfuge. Mr Zollinger, in his interesting account Lombok, gives an example. The young Raja of Mataram in that island, a Balinese, fell in love with the daughter of her chief Deva. In order to possess her a friendly legal ceremony became necessary. The Brāhmaṇa went through the form of expelling his daughter from his house, denouncing her as a 'wicked daughter'. She was then received into the Raja's house as a Vaisya and became a princess.

The days of impurity to be observed in case of a death in a family, vary, as in India, according to caste. A *Padanda* an ordinary Brāhmaṇa, a Kshatriya, a Vaisya and a Śudra, become pure respectively after five, ten, fifteen, twenty and twenty-five days.

Two other social institutions in Bali may be referred to in connection with the caste system. First, the *satī* or the burning of a widow along with the body of her dead husband. This is forbidden in the case of the Śūdras, and in late periods came to beconfined only to royal families. There were two kinds of self-immolation. In one case the wife first killed herself by the *kris* (sword) and then her body was placed on she funeral pyre; in the other case the wife jumped into the funeral pyre. Sometimes even the slaves and concubines of the dead also perished with him.

Secondly, we may refer to the slaves as forming a distinct class in society. Slavery may be due to one of the following circumstances : (*a*) birth, (*b*) non-payment of debt or fines, (*c*) imprisonment in war, or (*d*) poverty. Although severely punished for crimes or attempts to escape, the lot of a slave was on the whole tolerable.

Whether all these customs which we find today in Bali also prevailed in Java and other parts of Hinduised Malaysia is difficult to determine. But the few references that we get are not incompatible with such a view. For in Javanese literature and Chinese accounts we get references to Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas and also to slavery and *satī*. The Javanese literature and history throw some interesting light on certainp hases of society, although they do not furnish materials for anything like a connected and complete picture. The system of marriage, for example, seems to show some divergence from Hindu customs. Polygamy was prevalent on almost as large a scale as in India, but remarriage of widows, even of grown-up ladies with children, seems to have been a usual feature in Java, whereas it was all but unknown in India. For although sanctioned by the scriptures under special circumstances, an odium attached to it, and it hardly came into use, at least in the upper classes of society. In Java we have the famous instance of Ken Angrok or King Rājasa marrying the widow of Tunggul Ametung, the governor of Tumapel. About common people we learn that in an annual gladiatorial combat (to be described later on) in Java the wife of the slain became the prize of the victor.

In general, the position of a woman in Java seems to have been much better than in India, so far at least as the political rights were concerned. Gunapriyā Dharmapatnī ruled in her own rights and in the official records her name was placed before that of her husband. Rājapatnī succeeded Jayanagara, and her eldest daughter acted as regent for her, although this daughter had a son. Again, we know that after the death of

Vikramavardhana, his daughter Suhitā ascended the throne although she had two brothers.

There does not appear to be any *purdah* system in vogue and the women freely mixed with men. This is evident from literature as well as present-day customs in Bali. Women could choose their own husbands and we find actual reference to *svayamvara* in the case of princess Bhreng Kahuripan. There seems to be no restriction as to the degree of relationship within which marriage relation was prohibited. The case of Aji Jayanagara shows that even marriage with a step-sister was not forbidden.

An old Javanese prose work, *Tatva-Ning-Vyavahara,* like Raghunandan's *Ashiavimśati Tattva,* seems to lay down rules for society. A Sanskrit *śloka* describing the origin of the four castes from the forehead, arms, thigh and feet of Brahmā is quoted with an old Javanese translation. It then mentions the classes of food prohibited to the different classes. A list is given of the unclean animals such as dog, mouse, ape, snake, etc. It also deals with the marriage ceremony. How far books of this kind represent the actual state of society, it is difficult to say.

The duties of the four castes are also given in some books of this kind. Others lay down the dates on which it is improper to institute a law-suit or when a husband should approach his wife, etc., (*cf. Manu,* III. 45).

It was not the custom in Java to use match-makers in contracting a marriage. Some gold was paid to the relations of the girl and then the marriage took place. In Borneo they sent, as marriage presents, first the wine made of cocoanut-tree, then arecanuts and next a finger ring. At last they sent some cotton cloth or weighed out some gold or silver. In Kora or Kala (Malay Peninsula) they gave no presents other than arecanuts, sometimes as many as two hundred trays.

The details of marriage ceremony in Java may be gathered from the following description :

> "When a man marries, he goes first to the house of the bride to conclude the marriage, and three days afterwards he brings his wife home, on which occasion the relations of the bridegroom beat copper drums and gongs, blow on co-

coanut shells, beat drums made of bamboo and burn fireworks, whilst a number of men armed with small swords surround them. The bride has her hair hanging loose, the upper part of her body and feet naked; round her waist a piece of green flowered cloth is fastened; on her head she wears strings of golden beads, and on the wrists bracelets of gold and silver nicely ornamented.

The relations, friends and neighbours bring *penang* and betel, whilst with garlands of flowers and leaves they adorn a little ship which they carry along with the newly married as a form of congratulation. Arriving at the house they beat drums and gongs and rejoice for several days after which they go away."

Some of the Chinese accounts testify to a very high degree of conjugal love and fidelity. In *Hsing-Cha-Sheng-lan* occurs the following passage about Ma-yi-tung which has been identified with Banka. "They highly value chastity, and when a husband dies, his wife cuts her air, lacerates her face and does not eat for seven days, sleeping all the time together with the dead body of her husband. Many die during this time, but if one survives after seven days, her relations exhort her to eat; she may then live but never marries again. On the day that the husband is burned, many wives throw themselves into the fire and die also."

This last custom is also referred to in other Chinese accounts, and, as we have already seen above, has survived in Bali.

Adultery was punished with death both in San-fo-ts'i and Borneo.

The Chinese account makes it clear that the civilizing influence of Indian culture did not always penetrate the masses.

Take for example the following description of the Javanese in *Yang-Hai Sheng-lan* which is also reproduced in the *History of the Ming Dynasty*:

"The natives are very ugly and uncouth; they go about with uncombed heads and naked feet and believe devoutly in devils. The food of these people is dirty and bad, as

> for instance snakes, ants and all other kinds of insects and worms which are kept a moment before the fire and then eaten; the dogs they have in their houses eat and sleep together with them, without their being disgusted at all."

This is evidently the class of people who were civilised by the Hindus. The Chinese account, which belongs to the last period of Hindu culture, shows that a large section of the people was still beyond the pale of Hindu culture and civilization.

Perhaps even the civilized element retained a degree of primitive ferocity such as is described in the same texts. "The temper (of the people of Java) is cruel and hasty; young and old, high and low, all carry a sword at their side and on the slightest provocation they injure each other." We read in another text: "The men and women of this country take great care of their heads; if another touches them, or if they get into a quarrel in trading, or if they are drunk and insult each other, they draw their dagger and begin stabbing, thus deciding the question by violence. If one is killed, the other runs away and conceals himself for three days after which time he has no more to account for his opponent's life. When, on the contrary, a murderer is caught on the spot, he is also stabbed to death immediately."

Quite in keeping with this temper was an annual Gladiatorial combat which is called by the Chinese "Meeting of Bamboo Spears". It was an annual gathering attended by the king and the queen. The combatants, armed with bamboo spears and accompanied by their wives or concubines, formed two ranks. At the sound of drum two men advanced with their lances and commenced fighting. After they were engaged three times, they were separated by their wives. If one was killed in the fight the king ordered the victor to pay one gold coin to the relations of the deceased whose wife henceforth followed the victor. The Chinese author justly remarks, "Thus they make a game of a deadly fight."

The same primitive character may also be noted in their dress and food. The chief characteristic of the dress of the people was that both men and women usually kept the upper part of their body naked, and only put something like a modern *sarong* around the lower limbs below the waist. This is definitely recorded about the people of Lang-ya-su, Java, and Borneo. The fact that the custom prevails even today in the island of Bali gives an authentic character to the Chinese statement. A woman without any covering for the upper part of the body would be regarded in modern India as a relic of barbarism. But it is only fair to bear in mind that even now the custom prevails among some south Indian tribes and that Indian sculpture as a rule represents female figures without any covering for the upper part of the body.

Rice formed the ordinary article of food, at least in Java. Another Indian characteristic was the chewing of betel. They drank wine made from flowers, cocoanuts (probably palm-tree) *penang* or honey, which were all intoxicating.

The people had various amusements to enjoy their life. Gambling seems to have been widely prevalent. The people of Śan-fo ts'i played *pa-kui*, chess or arranged cock-fight, in all cases staking money. Cock-fighting was also a favourite pastime in Java. More innocent amusements were trips to mountains or rivers. We are told about Java : "In the fifth month they go in boats for their amusement and in the tenth month they repair to the mountain to enjoy themselves there. They have mountain ponies which carry them very well, and some go in mountain chairs."

The women of Java had their own modes of enjoyment. "On every fifteenth and sixteenth day of the month, when the moon is full and the night is clear, the native women form themselves into troops of 20 or 30, one woman being the head of them all, and so they go arm in arm to walk in the moonshine; the head woman sings one line of native song and the others afterwards fall in together; they go to the houses of their relations and of rich and high people when they are rewarded with copper cash and such things. This is called 'making music in the moonshine'."

Music seems to be fairly cultivated all over Malaysia. *The History of the Sung Dynasty* (960-1279 A.D.) describes the Javanese musical instruments as transversal flute, drums, and wooden boards, and adds that the Javanese can also dance. Indeed the modern Javanese music (*gamelan*) and dancing

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justly enjoy a high reputation and may give us some idea of their past achievements in these directions.

The most important amusement known in Malaysia was of course the *wayang* or shadow-play which still forms one of the most interesting and unique forms of amusement in Java, Bali, Lombok and other places.

Although the term *wayang* is now used for theatre in general, it technically means a shadow-play. The essential features of a *wayang* proper are that the actors are represented by shadows of puppets thrown from behind on a white screen, in front of the audience. The puppets are made of leather, generally of buffalo's hide, and painted and gilt with great care. The performer (*dalong*) sits behind the screen under a lamp, and manipulates the puppets so as to suit their actions to the speech which he himself recites from behind on behalf of all the actors. The movements of the puppets are rendered quite easy as they are cut in profile and have loose arms which can be moved by wooden sticks. The *dalong* is, of course, the soul of the whole performance. He not only recites the speeches of all the actors but also repeats verses from the drama illustrating the spirit of the story and adds descriptions necessary to render the action intelligible to the spectators. The music or *gamelan* forms an essential accompaniment of *wayang* and like a band-master the *dalong* gives directions to the musicians seated behind him by means of a small hammer in his left hand. To render the war scenes sufficiently exciting he beats with his right foot two or three metallic plates kept ready for the purpose. Before the performance begins he puts in a cup an offering for the spirits and burns incense.

The most striking thing in a *wayang* is the grotesque form of the puppets of figures which cast shadows on the screen. They are strange distortions of human figures, with an unnaturally prominent nose, grotesque expression of face and a curious disproportion between different limbs.

The *wayang* proper is of two kinds, *wayang purva* and *wayang gedog*. *Wayang purva* is the ancient and the most important one. Its themes are usually derived from the two Indian epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, though they are sometimes mixed up with the Old-Javanese or real Malay-Polynesian myths. Even today, it is the most popular form of theatre in Java.

The *wayang gedog* was first introduced during the Majapahit period and differs from *wayang purva* mainly in respect of the subjects of play. Raden Panji, the prince of Janggala, is the hero of this later class of *wayang*, the themes of which are based on the stories of his love adventures and consequent fights with other princes. The dress and equipments of the puppets naturally vary to a certain extent in consequence of the difference of the subject-matter, but these are minor matters of detail.

Thus on the whole we find that poetry, drama, music and dance formed the highest classes of amusement, at least in Java, and the spirit of each of these was undoubtedly derived from India.

Lastly, we may turn to the final rites of a man, which form such a characteristic feature of every society. As regards the disposal of the dead, burning, throwing into water, and exposure to wilderness for being devoured by birds or dogs seem to be the chief practices. It is said about Dva-pa-tan, usually identified with Bali, that "When one of them dies, they fill his mouth with gold, put golden bracelets on his legs and arms and after having added camphor oil, camphor baros and other kinds of perfumery, they pile up firewood and burn the corpse." In Kora or Kala (Malaya Peninsula), after the bodies were burnt the ashes were put in a golden jar and sunk into the sea.

In this connection we may refer to the present practice of cremation at Bali. It consists of a series of ceremonies, and takes much time and much money. Immediately after death the body is embalmed, *i.e.*, covered successively with spices, coins, clothes, mats and a covering of split bamboo. In this state the body remains for a length of time, until three days before the cremation the corpse is stripped of its coverings and the relatives look upon the dead for the last time. The dead body is then placed on the funeral pyre which is a sort of moving car, consisting of a foundation of bamboo with a super-structure of bamboo or wood, in the form of a pyramid of three to eleven storeys. Of course the structure and its decoration vary with the wealth of the family and are very gorgeous in the case of princes.

The funeral car is then taken to the cremation ground in a long procession, accompanied by music, and also by armed men, in the case of members of a royal family. The articles of daily use and holy water from the sacred places, both Hindu and Buddhist, are carried with the procession.

At the place of cremation the corpse is carried down from the car and placed into the coffin, which stands on a two-storeyed chamber, and has the figure of a lion in the case of reigning princes, a cow in the case of other distinguished persons, and is usually a simple square wooden chest in the case of ordinary men, although even these sometimes use figures, *e.g.*, *Gajamina*, a monster half-elephant, half-fish. At last after the *padanda* has muttered the sacred texts and sprinkled the holy water on the body, a fire is kindled beneath of coffin. After the corpse is consumed the bones are collected and carried the next day with great state to the sea and thrown into it together with money and offerings.

10

Hindu Law in Java and Bali

The legal system of Java was mainly of Hindu origin though modified by local conditions. There were written law-codes in Java and Bali, and these resembled, both in form and substance, the Indian law-books—*Dharmaśaśtras* or *Śrutis*—to a large extent. How far these law-books were promulgated by constituted authorities or represented the actual conditions of society, is a common problem both for India and her colonies. But the general picture afforded by these books may be taken, in either case, as a safe guide for obtaining a broad view of the state and society in the past. The variations of rules and principles noticed in the different law-books must be attributed, as in the case of India, to varying indigenous customs in different localities and in different ages. To this we may, perhaps, add the influence of the different Indian law-books introduced, perhaps at different times, in Java.

Among the more important law-books of Java and Bali which are known to exist at the present time, the following deserve special mention.[1]

1. *Sārasamuccaya*[2]—It consists mostly of Sanskrit verses, followed by an old Javanese translation. It begins with an

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[1] The list is given on the authority of Juynboll (*BKI*, Vol. 71, pp. 568/-69). It differs from that in Friederich, *Bali*, pp. 93 ff. See als footnote 3 and 4 on page 121.

[2] This is different from a Tutur work of the same name, though Friederich (*op. cit.*) took the two to be identical.

accouut of Vishṇu who came to Mdang, ruled there as *rahyang tavkan dyāvan* and had four sons.

2. *Svara Jambu* (probably corrupted from *Svayambhu*,[1] is mostly the translation of the eighth book of *Mānavadharmaśāstra*. Only the last part, written in later dailect, deviates from this source.

3. The *Śivaśāśana*, written in pure old Javanese, is referred to in an inscription of 991 A.D. and is associated with king Dharmavaṁśa teguḥ Ananta Vikramōttuṅgadeva[2].

4. The work generally known as *Pūrvādhigama*, and designated at the end as '*Śivaśāsana-sārōddhṛta*' may be regarded as a later redaction of No. 3.

5. The Balinese work *Pūrva-āgama* is perhaps the modern form of No. 4.

6. The *Devāgama*, also known as *Kṛtopapati*, quotes many rules from *Mānavadharmaśāstra*.

7. The *Kutāra-mānava* is also largely influenced by *Mānavadharmaśāstra*.

8. *Gajah Mada* is a law-book attributed to Gajah Mada, the famous Prime Minister of Majapahit. The existing text is undoubtedly more modern, but as Gajah Mada is credited with a knowledge of law in *Nāgara kṛitāgama* (12:4), it is not impossible that he was the author of the original work.[3]

9. *Ādigama*—This is one of the law-books now regarded as authentic in Buleleng (Bali). Like the preceding work, it is attributed to Kanaka, the Prime Minister of Majapahit from 1413-1430 A.D. The date given in the Manuscript is 1401 A.D.

10-11. *Kerta Sima* and *Kerta Sima Subak* show strong Balinese influence.

12. *Pasvara*, a comparatively recent Balinese law-book[4] in

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[1] Jonker, *Wetboek*, p. 3.

[2] For Nos. 3-5 *cf.* also Krom-*Geschiedenis*, pp. 230-31.

[3] For Nos. 8 and 9 *cf. Ibid.*, pp. 421-22, 445. No. 8 is not mentioned by Juynboll.

[4] To this list we may add *Agama*, *Dustakalabaya*, *Devadanda* and *Yajna Sadma* by Friederich *(op. cit.*, pp. 93-94), *Darma Uppapti (Dharmopapatti)* and *Uttara Mānava* mentioned by Van Eck and *Sāstra Pasobaay* cited byJonker (*Wetboek*, p. 3.).

the form of a collection of royal edicts. There are many collections of this kind.

Among the texts mentioned above, the *Kuṭāra-mānava*[1] which is now held authentic in Bali may form the basis of a detailed study of the Indo-Javanese law. This book was regarded as of the highest authority in the flourishing period of the Majapahit empire. This is indisputably proved by the Bendasari inscription[2] dating from the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. This is a record of a judgement in a civil case (dispute over the possession of land) and describes the way in which the judges came to a decision. There were six of them, referred to as '*Dharmapravakta Vyavahāra—Vichchedaka*'. They heard the statement of both the parties and, in accordance with established practice, interrogated some impartial local people about it. Then they took into consideration the law, as enunciated in legal texts, the local usages and customs, the precedents, the opinion of religious teachers and old men, and ultimately they decided according to the principles enunciated in *Kuṭāra-mānava*.

That the *Kutāra-mānava* was regarded as of the highest authority also follows from another inscription, dated 1358 A.D.[3] in which the judges, seven in number, are described as '*Kutāra-mānavādi-śāstra-Vivechana-tatpara*', *i.e.*, persons skilled in the knowledge of "*Kutāra-mānavā* and other law-books".

The antiquity of the law-books also follows from the total absence of firearms in the list of weapons, enumerated in section 59[4] by which a wound could be caused. The language of the existing text of the *Kuṭāra-mānava*, however, shows that

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Among these *Devanadda* is described by Juynboll (*Catalogue*, pp. 182-184) and others and there is a Dutch translation of it by Blokzil (*TBG*, Vol. 18, pp. 295-309). But although the older writers describe it as written in very old language, it is not borne out by the manuscripts catalogued by Juynboll. Of the other books, I am not able to say much, nor even whether they are all really different books from those mentioned above; *e.g.*, the '*Uttara Mānava*' may be the same as *Kutāra-Mānava*.

[1] Edited with a scholarly introduction and Dutch translation by J.B.G. Jonker (Leiden, 1885).

[2] *OJO*, No. 85, Krom-*op. cit.* pp. 421-22.

[3] *OV*, 1918, pp. 108-112, Krom, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

[4] Jonker, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

it is a later redaction of that work, though it is not easy to determine the nature and extent of the modifications introduced in later times. That the book underwent some amount of Balinese influence is also clear from a study of the existing text.[1]

The text, as we have it now, is a compilation from various sources, some of which are named in the book itself, and others are referred to in general terms, 'so say the wise people', etc. The arrangement is also somewhat irregular; the same topics, even the same rules, recurring in different parts of the work, and sometimes even different rules about the same topics. This is more particularly the case with regard to rules about slaves, pledge, marriage-price, and adultery. The legal principles and detailed rules are mostly based on Hindu law-books but slight modifications of these and the addition of new rules betray clearly the influence of indigenous laws and customs. The influence of indigenous law and variations from or modifications of Indian law are clearly much greater in the earlier than in the latter part, and this has given rise to the question whether the whole of the present text formed part of the original work. The unity of the language is in the favour of the latter view.[2] But Brandes thinks that it really consists of two parts, the *Kuṭāra*, inspired by Bhrigu, and *Mānava* inspired by Manu. Brandes also refers to a Malay chronicle according to which it was composed under Surya Alam, king of Demak.[3]

About the indebtedness of the *Kuṭāra-mānava-śāstra* to different Indian law-books we find the following interesting passage in the book itself.

> "A buffalo or a cow, given in pledge, is forfeited to the creditor, if it is not redeemed within three years. Thus, says *Kutārāgama*. According to *Mānavāgama*, the period is five years. One of these two must be followed. It is wrong to suppose, however, that one of these law-books is better than the other, both being authoritative. The

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-35
[3] Catalogue, S.V. *Kutara-Manava.*

> *Mānavaśāstra* is communicated by Maharaja Manu who was like god Vishnu. The *Kutāraśāstra* was thus communicated by Bhrigu in the *Tretayuga* : he was (also) like Vishṇu; the *Kutāra-sāstra* is followed by Parasurama and by the whole world, it is not a product of the present time, but . . . . (121)."[1]

In many other sections (*cf.* art. 137, 143) also, the different rules of *Mānava-śāstra* and *Kutārasāśtra* are placed side by side. There is no doubt that this circumstance explains the title of the law-book. References to Manu or *Mānavasāstra* are, however, more frequent.

What Indian law-book is meant by *Kuṭārasāstra*, we do not know. The reference to Parasurama makes it plausible enough to derive *Kuṭāra* from *Kuṭhāra*,[2] but, that does not help us much in tracing the original work.

As regards *Mānavaśāstra* there cannot, of course, be any doubt, that it refers to the famous Indian law-book *Mānavadharamaśāstra* or *Manu-saṁhitā*. An analysis of the contents of the Javanese law-book shows that this work formed its chief source.[3] Not only numerous isolated verses, but, sometimes a whole series of them are reproduced, with slight variations and modifications in many cases. These variations are sometimes the results of the misunderstanding of the original text, but are also in some cases undoubtedly due to an effort to bring the law into line with Javanese conditions. But the parentage is unmistakable.

In the passages quoted from *Manu-Saṁhita*, the order of topics, and also, generally speaking, of the individual rules, closely follows that of the original. It is, therefore, exceedingly probable that there was an old Javanese translation of *Manu-Saṁhitā* or parts of it (notably Chaps. VIII-IX) as e.g., *Svara Jambu* from which author largely borrowed. The high authority enjoyed by this Indian law-book is proved by other evidences also. It is mentioned in *Bhomakavya*,[4] and an old

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[1] The figures within bracket on this and the following pages indicate the section or paragraph of *Kuatra-Manava Sastra*.

[2] Jonker, *Wetboek*, p. 15.

[3] *KO* No. 16.

[4] *Cf.* Bk. III, Chs. 1, VIII.

Javanese inscription refers to it in such a way as to leave no doubt of its authoritative character. The *Charita Parahyangan* says of king Niskalavastu Kanchana that he did many good deeds for the holy persons, was dear unto the gods and strictly followed the law code of Manu." The *Risāsana* also refers to Manu as law-giver[1] while Pratasti-Bhuvana an Purushadasanta refer to *Manuśāsana*.[2] All these references indicate the high honour in which Manu's law-book was held in Java, and it is, therefore, quite natural that the Javanese law-book should take it as the chief guide. At the same time a close analysis of the Javanese text makes it abundantly clear that the Indian law-books, other than *Manu Saṁhita*, were consulted by the Javanese author.[3] For, in some cases, more than one Hindu legal principle is given, while in others, such as the use of 'documentary evidence', '*Sāhasa*', (assault), '*Śuika*', (Marriage-price), etc., the rules given differ from those of Manu. It is not always easy to trace the origin of these rules, but a strong presumption arises in certain cases. The rule, for example, that rights over land are barred by limitation after 20 years (268) is now to be found in Yājnavalkya, Vyāsa and Kauṭilya alone while the classification of interest for money (262) is given only in *Bṛihaspati Saṁhitā*. It is probable, therefore, that some of these law-books were known in Java, though the possibility is not excluded that the same rules occurred in other Indian law-books, or different verisons of existing law-books, not known to us at present. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that the Javanese law-book contains several Sanskrit terms which cannot be traced in existing Indian law-books [*e.g.*, *Pañchasādhārana, Jivadāna, Devāgama* (for *divya*)], etc.

While the Javanese law-book clearly shows that not only were Indian law-books known in general, but the Indian legal system was also transplanted in Java, it is equally clear at the same time that the latter underwent important modifications by indigenous laws and customs. This is quite natural and inevitable, especially in view of the fact that in the *Manu*-

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[1] Pigeaud,—*Tanttu Panggelaran*, p. 300.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 294; Juynboll, I, 211.

[3] Jonker, *Wetboek*, pp. 17 ff.

Saṁhitā the local manners and customs are recognised as possessing legal authority. These modifications are met with in other law-books of Java such as *Devadaṇda* or *Sāra-Sumudāya*, and it is probable that legal texts like these served, in this respect, as the source of *Kuṭāra-Mānava Śāstra*. These modifications will be noticed in the course of explaining the detailed contents of the book, to which we may now turn; these detailed rules may be broadly divided into two classes, civil and criminal, and each is dealt with under several sub-heads or titles of law.

The very first section deals with murder. Eight classes of murderers are defined : (*1*) he who kills an innocent man; (*2*) he who incites another to kill an innocent man; (*3*) he who wounds an innocent man; (*4*) he who eats with a murderer; (*5*) he who keeps company with a murderer; (*6*) he who is on friendly terms with a murderer; (*7*) he who gives shelter to a murderer; and (*8*) he who renders any help to a murderer. The first three classes are liable to capital punishment which, however, may be changed by the king to a fine of Rs. 40,000.[1] The last five are liable to a fine of Rs. 20,000.

Similarly thieves are divided into eight classes (21-28) on the above principle so as to include, in addition to actual thieves, those who instigate, help or befriend him. The man who actually steals is not only liable to capital punishment, but his wives (women) and children, together with all his possessions, become the property of the king. But a thief may purchase life by paying Rs. 40,000 to the king, and a compensation to the owner equivalent to double the value of the stolen goods. He who instigates another to commit theft is also liable to capital punishment. His wives and children may escape with a heavy fine, but if they are also guilty of joining him in instigating the crime, they are liable to capital punishment. Other abettors of the crime are fined according to the nature and gravity of the offence.

The next important headings of criminal law are defamation and assault described in the Indian technical terms *Vākpārushya* and *Daṇḍa-pārushya.* Here for the first time we meet with that discrimination of law according to the caste of persons, which is a characteristic feature of Hindu law. In order to give an adequate idea of this, we may give in full the penalties for abuse or defamation. If the offender and the offended belong to the same class, the fine is only 250. The following table shows the amount of fines when the two parties belong to different castes :

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[1] While giving the amount of fines, the law-book never states the unit coin it has in view. As for reasons explained below: the value of this unit may be regarded as one-twentieth of that (*pana*) used in *Manu Samhita*.

Amount of Fine

Offender	*Offended*	*Figures denote Penalty*
Brāhmana	Kshatriya	1,000
-do-	Vaiśya	500
-do-	Śūdra	250
Kshatriya	Brāhmana	2,000
-do-	Vaiaśya	1,000
Vaiśya	Brāhmana	5,000
-do-	Kshatriya	2,000
-do-	Śūdra	1,000
Sūdra	Brāhmana	**Death**
-do-	Kshatriya	5,000
-do-	Vaiśya	2,000

The regulations exactly follow *Manu-Samhitā* (VIII. 267-269), if we regard the unit to which the amount of fine refers, as one-twentieth of that used in Manu. The Javanese law-book, however, gives a complete statement, and further adds that a *chāṇḍāla* who defames a Brāhmaṇa should be put to death.

Similarly, the rules about assault closely follow those of Manu. The famous dictum of Manu that "with whatever limb a man of a low caste does hurt to (a man of the three) highest (castes), even that limb shall be cut off" (VIII. 279) is reproduced with the specification of the limbs. As a matter of fact many of the penal laws about assault, hurt, theft, robbery, plunder, cattle-lifting, damage or destruction of property, and adultery, are taken directly from Manu; and the following passages from this law-book are reproduced with little or no modification.

Manu Smriit-Bk. VIII, verses 279-284, 286-288, 295-300, 320-23, 325, 328-330, 337, 350, 352, 356, 357, 361, and also probably 365 and 366. All these penal laws provide a discrimination in punishment, according to castes, as in the case of defamation, and need not be described in detail. There are, of course, additional rules or illustrations in many cases, too numerous to be mentioned in detail.

Penalties are also provided for miscellaneous offences such as witchery (27, 173, 174, 178-182), quackery (274), etc.

Although the system of criminal law is evidently based on Hindu law and follows it closely, we may notice some striking differences which are presumably to be attributed to indigenous influence.

In the first place, the rules of murder and theft are more comprehensive than what we find in the Hindu law. They also introduce two new principles, viz. (*1*) that the crime is shared by the abettors and friends of the criminals, and (*2*) even the family members of the criminal (in case of theft) and one who instigates the crime is liable to punishment.

Secondly, the penal law in Java shows that the old idea that offences were torts rather than crimes had not altogether died out. Although offences were usually regarded as crimes and punished by the king with fine and corporal punishment, the idea of paying compensation to the injured is more marked in the Javanese law than in the Hindu law-books. For example, in *Manu* VIII, 295-296, the death caused by rash driving is considered purely as a crime, but the corresponding rule in Javanese law-book (232) adds that a compensation should be paid to the blood-relations of the deceased, if he is a free man, and to his owner, if he is a slave. The same conclusions follow from the laws of adultery (134-38), in which the fine was chiefly a compensation to the injured husband, and the latter had the right to put the criminal to death if he were caught red-handed.

Again, the penalties imposed by Manu for theft include only in two specific cases (VIII, 319-20) a compensation to the owner, equivalent to the value of the stolen goods. But the general rule in Java was to add to the fine, compensation equivalent to double the value of the goods stolen.

Thirdly, while both Javanese and Hindu laws make discrimination according to castes in awarding punishments for various offences, murder and theft form an exception in the case of the former (*cf.* sections 1-2, 21-28). In other words, all criminals in Java, accused of these two offences, were dealt in the same way, irrespective of the castes to which they belonged, while in India the consideration of caste prevailed even in these two classes of crimes.

The civil law throws a great deal of light on the social conditions in Java and, in particular, deals in great detail with two classes of persons, viz. (*1*) woman and (*2*) slaves.

The marriage of a woman was preceded by the payment of *śulka* or marriage-price by the bridegroom. The acceptance of this price by the bride's party created the legal obligation to marry the girl to the bridegroom. If the father marries the girl to another or connives at the girl's marrying another, he has not only to return to the original suitor twice the amount given by him but is also fined 40,000 by the king. The girl and her husband also are each fined the same amount (18,111). If the bridegroom, after the payment of the price refuses, or fails to marry the bride within five months, the price remains with the bride as her own property (213-14). On the other hand if he violates the girl before the fixed date, he not only loses the price but is also fined 40,000 (192). If a bride dies after the payment of the price, the bridegroom cannot claim it back. On other hand, if the bridegroom dies after paying the price, his younger brother (*devara*), if any, may, if he so desires, claim the bride as his own (215).

But a girl was legally entitled to refuse to marry any one suffering from physical deformities or disabilities, bad diseases in hidden parts of the body, insanity, impotence, or epilepsy. In these cases she had simply to refund the marriage-price. The law lays down no restriction regarding the prohibited degrees of marriage except that one should be punished if he marries his step-daughter (149).[1] As regards legal formalities, a sort of registration by the village headman seems to be regarded as essential (191).

The grounds, stated above, on which a maid could refuse to marry a man also entitled her to seek divorce even after the marriage was consummated. A woman could also seek divorce from her husband simply on the ground that she disliked him (19), and so could the father of the girl dissolve the marriage if he disliked his son-in-law (125); but in either case twice the marriage-price had to be refunded to him, and certain prescribed ceremonials had to be gone through before the marriage was legally dissolved. The relevant law runs as follows : "For a divorce four things are necessary : (1) pronouncement of the divorce; (2) the breaking of a coin while the husband makes the pronouncement; (3) the giving of water to wash the face; and (4) the giving of rice. These serve as the evidences of the divorce. After all these four are performed, the marriage is legally dissolved, but not otherwise. If a woman remarries without going through these formalities, the new husband will be fined 40,000 (5).

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[1] According to *Vartisasana*, certain relatives could not be married (Pigeaud, *Tanttu Panggelaran*, p. 296.

This is clearly an indigenous custom which is not only without any parallel in Indian law-books but directly contrary to the spirit and provisions of Hindu law. But, the influence of the latter is clearly visible in another set of regulations. These prescribe heavy penalties for the man who takes as wife a married woman with husband living (17). The former husband can either put the new pair to death, or accept a fine of 40,000. Those who were witnesses of such a marriage were also liable to heavy fines.

Further, a woman could divorce her husband, before the marriage was consummated, simply by repaying double the marriage-price, and evidently without any other formality (126). But in certain contingencies even a married woman, with husband alive, could take another husband after waiting for a prescribed period. These are described in a tabular form below (143, 254-256) :

Condition of the husband 1	*Period of waiting* 2
1. Going abroad for performing sacred or religious duty, penance or some other good work.	8 years
2. Going abroad to learn the *sastras*.	6 years
3. Going abroad for commerce, sea-voyage or acquisition of wealth.	10 years
4. Going abroad to marry a second wife.	3 years
5. Making journey to distant lands.	4 years
6. If the husband is absent but not on any ground mentioned in 2, 3 and 5 above.	4 years

1	2
7. If the husband is mad, epileptic, impotent or destitute of manly strength.	3 years
8. If the husband is lost (*i.e.*, missing), dies in course of journey, becomes a monk, or is impotent.	Nil

Nearly the whole of these regulations is based on Hindu legal principles as enunciated in *Manu* (IX, 76-78) and *Narada* (XII, 9766), and follow them closely. These are followed immediately by the single regulation which authorises a husband to discard a wife.

> "If a wife dislikes her husband, she must wait for one year. After that, if the dislike still continues, she should return double the marriage-price. This is named 'rejection of sexual intercourse' " (257).

This is obviously based on *Manu* IX, 77. But it is to be noted that, while this and other Indian law-books authorise the husband to discard his wife on this and sundry other grounds (*cf. Manu* IX, 80-81), the Javanese law-book ignores them altogether, save and except this one *i.e.*, on ground of dislike. But, then, it is to be remembered that the Javanese law-book gives the same right to the wife, viz. to divorce the husband if she dislikes him. Again the Javanese law that a wife could marry again, if the husband was mad, epileptic, or destitute of manly strength, or that a Javanese maid could refuse to marry, or seek divorce from a husband suffering from diseases, physical deformities or disabilities, etc., finds no parallel in Indian law-books. Rather, according to *Manu* (IX, 78), "She who shows disrespect to a husband who is addicted to (some evil) passion, is a drunkard, or diseased, shall be deserted for three months (and be) deprived of her ornaments and furniture." Further, Manu permits a diseased wife to be superseded at any time by another wife (IX, 80). When we remember that Javanese law-book so closely followed the *Manu-Samhita*, the additions and the omissions leave no doubt that a woman enjoyed a far higher status in Java than in India in the age of Manu. In support of this view we may quote a curious provision of the law, that a man should be fined 20,000 if he quarrelled with a woman, the amount accruing to her husband if the woman were married (142).

But while the Javanese law gives means to a wife to regain her independence, the husband seems to have complete domination over her so long as she remains in his family. The head of the family is to keep a strict vigilance on women, slaves and children, and even chastise them for doing wrong, by a cane or a wooden stick. But he must not strike them on the head, otherwise he should be fined by the king (131). This is obviously a leaf taken out of Manu's book (VIII, 299, 300). The dominance of the husband is also manifest from the following :

> "Father alone has the control of children, not the mother. If a mother arranges the marriage of her daughter without the consent of the father, the father may dissolve the match, and the marriage-price has to be returned to the rejected suitor by the mother and the girl" (193).

Law permitted a husband to sell his wife to another (171). But, even here it is noticeable that a man was liable to punishment if he purchased a woman without the permission of her husband and kept her as a slave. But if he purchased her from the husband and married her himself he was free from any guilt.

The higher regard for women and the dominance of husband over the wife are both reflected in the laws of adultery which indicate some peculiarity in Javanese conception. As stated before, many of these laws are taken from *Manu*, and on the whole the Javanese law resembles the Indian in regarding the offence of adultery as a serious one and penalising not only the perpetrators and abettors of the crime, but also actions which might ultimately lead to adultery, *e.g.*, speaking to a woman in loneliness, offering her presents, tempting her with money, etc. It recognises that human passions are different to control and, therefore, forbids all actions and movements which inevitably tend towards an illicit connection (139); but the penalties prescribed are less severe. The extreme penalty of death, or mutilation of hands, accompanied by branding and banishment, is reserved only for the male offender. Manu's direction that the king shall cause the female offender to be devoured by dogs in a public place, (VIII-371) has no parallel in Javanese law. The Javanese law mostly imposes fines, the amount of which varies with the gravity of the offence. But this fine is to be paid to the husband of the violated woman, and not to the king (134-138). In other words, the offence is regarded more as a private wrong done to the husband, than a crime against the State. A further illustration of this principle is furnished by the fact that the husband had also the right to put the criminal to death if he were caught red-handed (134).

Before leaving the topic of women, it is necessary to point out that, although the laws regarding re-marriage of women, and payment of *śulka* or marriage-price are based on Indian law-book, the latter also contain regulations of exactly opposite character forbidding both. These are, however, entirely absent from the Javanese law-books, showing thereby the strong hold of the customs which formerly prevailed but later fell into disfavour or disuse in India. Again, the right of wife to divorce her husband is unknown to Manu and foreign to the spirit of Indian law and practice, though *Narada* (XII, 16, 96) permits it in the case of certain physical disabilities of the husband. Lastly, to the general rule that pledged property vests in the holder of the pledge after a lapse of fixed period of time, there are some notable exceptions, viz. those belonging to married or unmarried girl, to the king and to a *Pandita* (206). These exceptions not only give a preferential treatment to women over men, but also supply another evidence that women could own real property (206). In all these cases the divergence from Hindu law may be explained by higher conception of the status of women among the indigenous people in Java.

Secondly to the regulations regarding women, the Javanese law-book contains elaborate regulations about the slaves. The following causes are enumerated as grounds for reducing a man to the status of a slave (169, 270) :

1. Imprisonment in war (called *Dhvaja-hrita*).
2. Born of parents who are themselves slaves (called *Grihaja)*
3. Non-payment of debt or fine (called *Dandadasa*).
4. Willingly accepting the status of a slave for food and

shelter (called *Bhakta-dāsa*)

A slave might change his master, by purchase or sale, gift and inheritance.

Now, the above closely follows *Manu* (VIII, 415) but differs from *Narada* who enumerates fifteen kinds of slaves, including the above (V, 26-28). According to the Javanese law, all these slaves might obtain their freedom by payment of a requisite fee to their master (270, 166, 167). Manu is silent on this point, but *Narada* states definitely 'that slaves by birth or those obtained by purchese, gift and inheritance cannot be released from bondage, except by the favour of their owners'. In this respect, therefore, the Javanese law seems to be more liberal; but except in the case of slaves belonging to class 1 (166) and 4 (167), it does not lay down detailed regulations about the mode of obtaining freedom. These two classes of slaves could free themselves by paying a sum of 8,000. Heavy penalties were provided for forcing a freed slave to work for his old master (160, 162, 172).

The slave was regarded as the absolute property of the master. Not only was he to live and work according to his bidding, but he was also entitled to the property (128) and even the issues of his male and female slaves. If a male slave of one married the female slave of another, then their children, if any, were divided among the two owners, the male children going to the owner of the male slave and the female children to the other owner (10, 152, 153). Runaway slaves and those who helped them were severely punished (3). The murderer of a slave had to recompense the owner for his loss (7). The slaves could be given as a pledge (101, 120), and such a slave was liable to capital punishment if he stole goods worth more than 100 from the owner of the pledge (118). A slave was, however, protected by law in many respects. He could be chastised, and even bound, by the master, but the latter was not permitted to strike him on the head (31, *cf. Manu*, VIII, 299-300). If a master made an attempt to outrage the modesty of a female slave, she could run away and become automatically free (165). So were the slaves of a thief automatically set free (24). Any one who abducted a slave was liable to capital punishment (157). A master could marry a slave, and in such a case their children inherited the property of the father if the latter had no children by wives of equal birth (155). If one married the slave of another, the children would inherit one-fourth of his property if he had other children, and the whole of it, if he had none by any wife of free birth (158).

In addition to regulations about women and slaves, the *Kuttāra-Mānava-Śastra* deals with many other important topics of civil law such as debt, pledge, property, inheritance, etc.

The rules of debt are very comprehensive and follow closely those of *Nārada* and *Yanjnavalkya*. Six kinds of interest are mentioned as in *Brihaspati* (XI, 5). Detailed directions are given for preparing the necessary document (72), and three kinds of witnesses are laid down as sufficient to prove the transaction *viz*. documents, witness, and enjoyment of interest (74). Failing satisfactory evidences, trial by ordeal is prescribed though no details are given. The debts are classified according as they are repayable or not by the debtor's children (79-80), and judicial procedure for the recovery of debt is also laid down (81-84).

According to *Narada*, "The guarantee to be offered to a creditor may be two-fold : a surety and a pledge. Both these are referred to in the Indo-Javanese law-book. It is interesting to note in this connection that only two kinds of surety are recognised, *viz*., that for the appearance of the debtor (88), and that for payment (89). In this and other respects it agrees, with *Manu-Samhita*, but not with *Narada* and other law-books which recognise a third surety, *viz*., that for honesty.

The rules about pledge are also laid down in great detail and are based generally on the Hindu law. The use of a pledge without the permission of the owner is regarded as a grave offence as in *Manu* (VIII, 144, 150) and *Narada* (1, 127-128), but the punishment is more severe. He has not only to give to the pledge-giver twice the value of the pledge, but is also fined 20,000 as a thief (102). In connection with the laws about pledge we come across one important principle which has been the subject of serious discussion in this country. After saying that certain pledges (*e.g*., clothes, etc.), are forfeited after five years (99), it proceeds : "If someone pledges landed property, it is never forfeited, for the land is the property of the king, it only remains in possession of the creditor" (100).

Thus, it is clearly laid down that the ownership of the soil vests in the king, and no one else. Whether this rule is derived from an Indian law-book, or whether it is an Indonesian modification, it is difficult to say. It may be added that a later section of the book lays down that a man loses his right over landed property, if another is in the possession of it for twenty years, with his knowledge (268).

The rules of property (including prescription) and those of sale and purchase follow the principles of Indian law-books, but the illustrations given are mostly new. The rules of inheritance offer some striking novelty. If a man dies, leaving more than one child from the same wife, then the eldest son gets an additional share (*uddhara*), which varies according to the value of the property left. In the most extreme, case the eldest takes four-fifths of the property while the remaining fifth part is divided among his younger brothers (197). Now, some of the Indian law-books recognise the claim of the eldest son to an additional share deducted from the estate, also known technically as *uddhara*, but both *Manu* and *Vishnu-Smriti* reckon it as one-twentieth, and *Baudhayana* as one-tenth. There is no Indian authority, known to us, for such a heavy share as four-fifths. It may be due to indigenous custom or misunderstanding of the original text.

The rules of inheritance vary, if a man leaves children from wives of different caste. The children in that case obtain preferential treatment according to the caste of their mothers. A specific rule lays down that the property of a Brāhmaṇa with wives of four different castes should be divided into eleven shares (258). The idea probably is that the children should share in the proportion of 4,3,2,1, accordingly as their mothers belong to the Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Śūdra castes, as laid down in *Manu* (IX,153). But, then the property is to be divided into ten, and not eleven shares. The extra share may belong, however, to the eldest.

A man may, however, formally discard a son (78), and the latter cannot inherit the property of his father.

In these rules of inheritance it is not quite clear whether both sons and daughters, or only the former, are to be regarded as heirs; for with a single exception quoted above the word used denoted children of both the sexes. Another remarkable point is that the children inherit the property of both the father and the mother, which is different from the Hindu laws. Another deviation from the latter is the total absence of all references to collateral descendants as heirs. Further, the word used for 'property' in these rules denotes always, at least if we take it in a literal sense, only movale property. As regards landed property, no rules of inheritance are clearly laid down; but there are two sections which run as follows :

1. If any one puts forward a claim over a land, and this claim proves unfounded, then he is fined by the king 160,000. It is called "Falsely pretending to be a blood-relation" (132).
2. If any one does not permit his blood-relations to use the land, he is fined by the king 160,000 and named "repelling his blood-relations" (133).

These two rules seem to indicate that land was regarded as the joint property of the family, and did not admit of divided ownership; but there are no clear statements on this point.

There are no definite rules about the inheritance by wife. But there is one rule, unfortunately fragmentary, which may be quoted in this connection. It runs as follows : 'If a married couple have no children, and one of them dies, then by the death of the wife the whole household property . . . .' (195). Jonker thinks that the missing portions referred to the right of the husband, but it might also include the corresponding right of the wife in case of the death of the husband. This view is strengthened by the regulation that immediately follows. It states that five years after marriage, but not before that, the household property of the husband and wife, together with what each of them had obtained at the time of the marriage, shall be mixed up and regarded as common property inheritable by each in the case of the death of the other (196). The same rule is laid down in another section where the period of interval is set down as 12 years, but it is distinctly laid down that the marriage-gift of the pair after that period shall be the property of the survivor, in case of the death of either the husband or the wife (123). It may be noted here that this merging of the property of the husband and wife is altogether foreign to Hindu law and must not be regarded as an indigenous custom.

The right of the king to inherit the property of one who has no legitimate heir, with the exception of a *Pandita*, whose property belongs to God (202-03) also closely follows the Indian legal principle but the expression '*Deva-dravyātmaka*' used in the Javanese book cannot be traced to any existing Indian law-book.

In connection with the inheritance we get a list of twelve classes of sons (lit. children). The list is expressly referred to Manu, and indeed closely, though not fully, agrees with that given in *Manu-Samhita* (IX, 158-160).

The twelve classes are (259) :

(1) The child of a wife, who was engaged with a man from her infancy and was afterwards given in marriage to him by the parents.
(2) The child of a re-married woman if her character is pure, and if the marriage had taken place with the permission of the parents.
(3) A child given by kinsmen.
(4) A child obtained from another.
(5) A child begotten on one's wife by another with his permission.
(6) A child cast off by his father.
(7) The child of an unmarried girl and whose father is unknown.
(8) The child of a woman pregnant at the time of her marriage.
(9) The child of a woman who divorced her husband, remarried another husband who dies shortly, and then returned to her first husband.
(10) The child who is bought.
(11) The child who offered himself as such.
(12) The child of a slave-woman of low birth, accepted as such.

Of these the first six alone are entitled to inherit the property of their father, but the last six are not regarded as heirs (*cf. Manu*, IX, 158).

11

The Date of Accession of Jayavarman II

The accession of Jayavarman II, the king of Kambuja, in 724 Śaka (=802 A.D.) was regarded as a fixed point in Kambuja chronology till Coedés propounded a new theory in 1928. He discussed the question in connection with an inscription in the temple of Lobok Srot which was issued in 703 Śaka during the reign of a king Jayavarman, and observed as follows : "When I first edited the inscription (*BEFEO*, V, p. 419) Jayavarman II was believed to have reigned till Ś. 791 and it was, therefore, impossible to attribute this inscription to him without assigning him a reign of 90 years and a longevity of at least 110 years; and I provisionally numbered this king as Jayavarman I (*bis*). But since according to the new chronology I have established at the beginning of this note, Jayavarman II died in Ś. 776 it is not at all impossible that it was he who had founded the temple of Lobok Srot, perhaps immediately after his return from Java and at the beginning of his reign at Indrapur. But this is merely a hypothesis to which I draw attention in passing. If it comes to be verified it will furnish a valuable chronological data and prove that Jayavarman II returned from Java before 781 A.D."[1]

Regarding the prevalent opinion about the date of Jayavarman's accession he remarks elsewhere in the same article that the reign of Jayavarman II did not really commence in Ś. 724

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[1] *BEFEO*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 119.

as is generally held, but that date marks the foundation of his capital on Mt. Mahendra[1].

In view of the great scholarship of M. Coedés and his unrivalled knowledge of Kambuja history, any hypothesis propounded by him is likely to meet general acceptance. This alone can explain the readiness with which some scholars have accepted the new theory without any further examination. For there seems to be hardly any valid ground—and none has been urged by Coedés—for taking Ś. 724 as the date of the foundation of the capital on Mahendraparvata. Following the usual tradition in Kambuja epigraphy, the authors of several inscriptions have referred to the date of commencement of Jayavarman's reign, and no reason has been shown why that date should be associated with a particular incident in the reign of Jayavarman II, and not regarded, as in all other cases, as the date of his accession. It is true that the reference to Mahendraparvata is found in some of these verses, as for example :

> "*Asīd=āvāridher=urvviṃ vahan=ved-ārdha—*
> *bhūdharaiḥ* |
> *Rājā Śri-Jayavarmm=eti Mahendra-ādri-*
> *krt-āspadah*[2] ||

Here the expression Mahendrādri is a qualifying epithet of the king and it would be a far-fetched interpretation to regard it as qualifying the date. But fortunatelyt here are verses in several other records which clearly refer to the accession of Jayavarman II in Ś. 724 without any reference whatsoever to his capital on Mahendraparvata.[3] The most interesting evidence about the correct interpretation of this verse is, however, furnished by Prea Kev Inscription.[4] It contains two verses denoting the commencement of the reigns of two kings of Kambuja which run as follows :

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 117.

[2] Prasat Trapan Run Inscription, V. XIV; *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[3] *cf.* the following :

(a) Asid bhūpo mahāvamso Veda-yugm-ādri-rājya-bhāk |
Nāmnā Sri Jayavarmma yah khyato bhūmau manur= yyatha ||
Ibid. V. IV, *BEFEO.*, *Vol. XXXVII* (Prasat Kak Po Inscription p. 389.

(b) (catu) r-bhuj-ācalorvvī-(dh)ṛc=catur-bh(u)ja iv=apara(h) |
(Phnom Prah Vihear Inscription V. A. 4, *ISCC*, p. 533).

[4] VV. A. 10. B. 2. *ISCC*, pp. 104, 106.

(*a*) "*Āsīd=Śri-Sūryavarmm=eti Veda-dvi-bilarājya-bhāk* |
(*b*) *Āsīd-Kamvuja-rajendro Veda-dvi-nagarājya-bhāk* ||

The similarity of the two expressions, in the same inscription, leaves no doubt that in both cases the date was meant to be that of the accession of the king. There is no doubt that the second verse quoted above refers to Jayavarman II and as such we must regard 724 as the date of his accession.

So, the significance of the date 724 is clear. As regards Coedés' theory that the king Jayavarman of Lobok Srot, Inscription dated S. 703 was identical with Jayavarman II, it has been demolished, as Coedés was the first to admit[1], by the discovery of another inscription, dated Śaka 692 (=770 A.D.), at Prah That Prah Srei, of the reign of Jayavarman. For it is now more reasonable to identify the two kings mentioned in these records, and obviously he cannot be identified with Jayavarman II whose reign in that case would cover the period 770-854 A.D.

There is thus no reason whatsoever to disregard the clear statement in the epigraphic records that Jayavarman II came to the throne in Śaka 724 (=802 A.D.). It appears that Coedés himself never definitely abandoned this old view in favour of his new hypothesis, for even long after it was propounded he gave the date of Jayavarman II as 802-854 A.D.[2] And so does Parmentier.[3] But unfortunately other scholars were less cautious and accepted Coedés' theory as a settled fact. Thus, Dr B. R. Chatterji[4], P. Stern[5] and P. Dupont[6] have accepted Ś. 724 as the date of the foundation of Mahendraparvata, and placed the accession of Jayavarman II towards the end of the eighth century A.D. even long after Dr Coedés, who originally propounded these views, had given them up. In any case the accession of Jayavarman II must be placed in 802 A.D.

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[1] *BEFEO*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 10, fn. 9.

[2] *BEFEO*, Vol, XXXIV, p. 421.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 65.

[4] *JGIS*, Vol. VI, pp. 144-145. On p. 144. Dr Chatterji places the reign of Jayavarman II from "latter part of the 9th century to 854 A.D. 9th is obviously a misprint for 8th. He fully accepts Coedes theory on p. 145 (last three lines).

[5] *BEFEO*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 614, 616; *Ibid.*, Vol XXXVIII, pp. 111, 175, 179.

[6] Dupont sometimes gives 802 A.D. as the date of accession (*BEFEO*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 416, 630) but sometimes takes it as the date of the institution of the Devaraja cult (*Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 429)

12

Some Aspects of Indo-Kambuja Culture

It is a well-known fact that Indian culture in all its aspects was introduced in Kambuja (modern Cambodia and Cochin-China) in the early centuries of the Christian era, and continued in full vigour for more than a thousand years. The mighty monuments whose ruins lie scattered all over the country, and a few of them like Angkor Vat that still remain intact, tell the tale of its past glory. But, there is another very important source of information regarding the nature of this culture which has not yet received the attention it deserves. This is the extensive epigraphic material which is still preserved. Several hundreds of inscriptions, written in Sanskrit or in the native language, Khmer, have already been published, and they throw considerable light on the various aspects of the civilisation that was developed in this distant land by the Indian colonists and had a luxuriant growth like its tropical vegetation.

Unfortunately, the rich epigraphic data have not been properly studied and are but little known to the public. Apart from the fact that they are of inestimable value in reconstructing the history and culture of the ancient Indian colony of Kambuja, they have an important bearing also on Indian history and culture. The Sanskrit inscriptions, for example, constitute an independent branch of Sanskrit literature which, for quality as well as for quantity, richly deserve a critical study at the hands of Sanskritists in all countries. Besides, the interesting data which they contain concerning the social and religious life of the people, throw very important sidelight even upon the history of Indian culture. Indeed it would be hardly any exaggeration to say that the inscriptions of Kambuja should be regarded as an important source-material for the understanding of Indian civilisation in all its aspects.

The indifference and ignorance of Indians in this field of study seem to be principally due to the fact that these inscriptions have been published in works written in French. To remove this difficulty and make the Kambuja inscriptions more easily accessible to Sanskritists in general, a complete collection of these, printed in *Devanāgari* character and with notes and introductions in English, is under preparation. For the purpose of giving the general public some idea of topics which may be considered of sufficient importance, even for the purpose of Indian history.

Early Phases of Religious Ideas

The oldest Hindu Colony in Kambuja known so far, was established in the coastal regions of the south known as Lower Cochin-China. It is interesting to recall that the two other nations that established their authority in Cambodia in subsequent times, viz. the Annamites in the seventeenth and the French in the nineteenth century, also first set foot on this coastal region and then gradually extended their power over the rest of the country.

The Chinese accounts enable us to date the Indian colonization in this region in the first century A.D. The same source informs us that the local people were at that time semi-savages, and both men and women went about naked.

The earliest epigraphic records of this Indian colony, that have so far come to light, belong to the reigns of Jayavarman and his son Rudravarman, who ruled during the last quarter of the fifth and the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. These inscriptions are three in number and have been found in Lower Cochin-China. An analysis of these inscriptions would give us an interesting idea of the first phase of culture resulting from Indian settlements in the region for about 400 years. It would be equally interesting to compare the data furnished by these three inscriptions with those of Indian epigraphs of the same period.

All the three inscriptions are written in Sanskrit verses, the metres employed being *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* in 11 verses, *śloka* in 2, and *Vasantatilakā*, *Pṛthvi* and *Āupachchhandasika* in 1 each. Unfortunately two of the inscriptions are very much mutilated and most of their contents cannot be satisfactorily made out.

The first inscription begins with an invocation to Vishṇu lying in *Kshīroda*-ocean on the Śesha-nāga, protecting the three worlds in his *kukshi*, and with a lotus springing from his navel. The acquaintance with Puranic mythology is further brought out by the comparison of the queen with Śachī of Indra, Svāhā of Agni and Rudrāṇī of Hara, and the imagery that she was Śrī incarnate. The invocation of the second inscription is lost but was possibly similar, for it records the consecration of a footprint of Vishṇu called *chakratīrthasvāmin*. The third inscription contains an invocation of Buddha in two verses which lay special emphasis on his great compassion for the whole world and anxiety for its welfare. To complete the picture it may be added that the Indian monk Nagasena who was sent as an ambassador to China by king Jayavarman, reported that the cult of Māheśvara, the god, who lives on the Motan hill, was the dominant cult of the country. This is fully borne out by the preponderance of the Śaiva faith in the inscriptions of the next century.

The existence, side by side and in the same family, of the followers of Śiva, Vishṇu and Buddha, is thus the chief feature of the religious life. The worship of images was in vogue as a golden image of a god is referred to in the first record. More importance is attached to the worship of the footprint of Vishṇu, referred to in the second.

The dominance of the Brāhmaṇas is echoed in these records. No. 1 refers to a village inhabited by Brāhmaṇas, and No. 2 describes the priests as Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas, Vedāṅgas and Upavedas, and as being almost equal to the gods (*amara-pratimaiḥ*). Even the Buddhist inscription contains an eulogy of the Brāhmaṇas. The importance of the Buddhists is also indicated by reference to the Bauddha *Arya-saṁgha*. It appears from No. 2 that the Vaishṇavas, called Bhāgavatas, had also regular *āśramas*.

The imprecatory formula, preserved in No. 2 above, threatens the miscreants with Yama's hell, but holds out as reward to the pious, the feet of Vishṇu (*Vishṇoh paramaṁ padaṁ*). In fine, as realisation of the evanescent character of life's enjoyments, like water-bubbles, is cited as the main inspiration for religious works (No. 1, v. 5.).

We may reasonably hold that it took about a century for Indian ideas to get a secure footing in the distant soil of Kambuja. In that case we may institute a fruitful comparison between the data supplied by the three Kambuja inscriptions discussed above with the epigraphic material in India which may be referred to the fourth century A.D. It would appear that one does not suffer in comparison with the other in regard to the picture of religious life that it unfolds to us. On the other hand I cannot immediately recall to my mind any Indian epigraph of the fourth century A.D. laying stress on the study of the Vedas, Vedāṅgas and Upavedas.

Reference has been made above to the worship of the footprint of Vishṇu, which is quite well-known in India. But we also find mention of the footprint of Śiva being held equally sacred. We learn from a record that a pious Brāhmaṇa consecrated the representation of a footprint of Śiva and a cistern for the ablution of the god, on the top of a hillock. In the year Śaka 526 (=604. A.D.) the representation of the divine footprint was surrounded by brick wall. The human figure of Śiva was also quite well-known. A fine image of Śiva and Parvati, with the latter seated on the left thigh of the god, was installed in the year Śaka 535 (=613 A.D.). The references to *liṅga* are numerous.

The different sects also made their influence felt in this distant region. Reference has been made above to the Bhāgavatas. An inscription dating from about the middle of the seventh century A.D. refers to a god Śrī-Trailokyasāra and to a sacrificer versed in the rites of the *Pancharātra* sect.

The *Pāśupatas* make their appearance as early as in the sixth century A.D. An inscription of this period refers to an endowment to god Śiva, managed by the Pāśupatas, and made by their *achārya*, named Vidyāpushpa, well versed in grammar and philosophy. After wandering to many holy places, he was directed in a dream by the god Śaṅkara, and established a *liṅga* on the *Tuṅgiśa-parvata*. This god was knows as Tuṅgīsa even in later times.

Two other interesting phases of religious life were in existence, side by side, of gods with indigenous names, and elaborate arrangements made for the worship of divine images in temples with the help of rich endowments. The following summary of an inscription throws interesting light on both these points.

The inscription begins with the date Śaka 533 and enumerates the gift on 7 slaves, 60 bulls, 2 buffaloes, 10 she-goats, 40 cocoanut trees and some paddy fields to (the god) Kpoñ Kamratān Añ; 7 slaves, 20 bulls, women who take to religious life, a person for fixing holy day, flowers, and perfumes to the god Mahāgaṇapati.

Another gift to a god whose name has disappeared and whose property was amalgamated with that of another god named Kamrātaṅ Teṁ Krom, comprises 7 dancing girls, 11 songstresses, 4 players on *viṇā* (lyre), *Kanjan* (*Khanajni*?) and *rahv*(?), 57 slaves for the paddy field, 100 bulls, 20 buffaloes, paddy fields in various localities, and a kitchen-garden. Then follows the list of names. The names of the dancing girls were Cha(ā?)rumati, Priyasenā, Aruṇamatī, Madanapriyā, Samaraseña and Vasantamallikā (the name of seventh not mentioned). The musicians were called Tanvaṅgī, Guṇadhārī, Dayitavatlī, Sārāṇgi, Payodharī, Ratimatī, Stanottarī, Rativindu, Manovatī, Shakhipriyā, Madhurasenā, Gandhinī and Vinayavatī. The names of the slaves and servants are mostly indigenous with a few exceptions, such as Śivadāsa, Bhāgya-prasāda, Jyeṭsha Varman, Daśamī and Mañjarī. In conclusion reference is made to the gift of *Acharya* Kandin to (god) Maṇīśvara.

Reference has been made in this record to the 'women who take to religious life' as being given to the temples. The expression in Khmer literally means "females who enter into religion for the sacrificer (*yajamāna*) of the god". Although the exact meaning is not quite clear, it is not difficult to recongnise in them the "*devadāsis*" of Indian temples. I do not think there is any reference to this class in Indian inscriptions of such early period. This raises the question whether this custom originated in India or was derived from contact with countries where moral laxity of this type among females is known to have prevailed in more obnoxious form even in later times.

The personal names of dancing and musician girls, laying of great stress on their physical charms, are very interesting relics of the fashions of old times of which we have no exact counterpart in Indian literary records. The existence of the Indian and indigenous names among these and the slaves, both male and female, raises an important issue. It may be supposed on the analogy of known instances, that Indian colonists occupied higher ranks and were not likely to be included in these low professions or status in life. This would mean that the indigenous people, of those who were born of their union with the Indians, bore the purely Indian names. At the same time indigenous names never went out of use. The Kambuja inscriptions have preserved many hundreds of personal names. A list of all the Indian names would be both interesting and instructive. An analysis of the proportion of Indian and indigenous names in the various official ranks and walks of life would also throw a welcome light on the degree of Indianization in Kambuja Society.

13

The Malay

By philological researches Schmidt and other scholars have sought to establish a definite connection between the languages of some primitive tribes of India such as Muṇḍā and Khāsi with Mon-khmer and allied languages including those of the Semang and the Sakai. They have presumed the existence of a linguistic family which is now called Austro-Asiatic.[1]

Schmidt believes that 'the linguistic unity between these peoples which is now definitely established, points to an ethnic unity among them as well, though positive and satisfactory evidence on this point is lacking yet'.[2]

Schmidt has extended his studies even further and proposed to connect the Austro-Asiatic family with the Austro-nesian to which, as stated above, the Malays belonged. Schmidt thus seeks to establish a "larger linguistic unity between Austro-Asiatic and Austro-nesian and calls the family thus constituted 'Austric." Here, again, Schmidt indicates the possibility of an ethnic unity among the peoples whose linguistic affinity is thus definitely assured.

He thus regards the peoples of Indo-China and Indonesia as belonging to the same stock as the Muṇḍā[1] and allied tribes of Central India and the Khāsis of North- Eastern India. He regards India as the original home of all these peoples from which they gradually spread to the east and south-east. The following passage sums up his views in this respect :

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[1] *Die Mon-Khmer-Volker*, etc. (1906), pp. 35 ff. I have used the French translation in *BEFEO*, Vol. VII, pp. 213-63; VIII, pp. 1-35. A good exposition of Schmidt's view, so far as the linguistic aspect is concerned, is given in the introductory chapter in *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India* by Dr. P.C. Bagchi, Calcutta University, 1929, from which I have freely quoted. The page marks within bracket in the text refer to this book.

[2] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, especially p. 233.

> 'In the same way as I have presented here the results of my investigations on movements of peoples who, starting from India towards the east, at first spread themselves over the whole length of Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and then over all the islands of the Pacific Ocean up to its eastern extremity,—my attention has for long been drawn to another current which, in my opinion, also started from India, but turned more directly towards the south and touching only the western fringe of the Pacific Ocean proceeded, perhaps by way of New Guinea towards the continent of Australia'.[2]

Schmidt's views, must be regarded as only provisional.[3] But several other scholars have supported this view on entirely different grounds. Among them may be mentioned the names of S. Lévi, J. Przyluski and J. Bloch. The relevant articles on this subject by these eminent scholars have been published together in English version by Dr P.C. Bagchi. The following summary is derived almost entirely from his book entitled *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India.*

Prof Thomsen first maintained that Muṇḍā influence can be traced in the formation of Indian vernaculars. Recent studies have tried to establish that this influence can be traced further back. Prof Przyluski has tried to explain a certain number of words of the Sanskrit vocabulary as fairly ancient loans from the Austro-Asiatic family of languages. Prof Jules Bloch has proved that the question of the Muṅḍā substratum in Indo-Aryan cannot be overlooked (pp. xi-xii).

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[1] The Mundā group of languages includes Kol., the more eastern Kherwari with Santali Mundāri, Bhumij, Birhor, Kodā, Ho, Turi, Asuri, and Korwa dialects, and the western Kurku; Kuaṛia, Juang; and the two mixed languages Savara and Gadaba. *cf.* P.C. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. vi.

[2] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-49. A critical summary of Schmidt's view is given by Blagden. *From Central India to Polynesia. J Str. Br. RAS.*, No. 53, p. 63.

[3] Recently Schmidt's view has been challenged by W.F. de Hevesy, who denies the existence of the Austro-Asiatic family of languages; *JBORS*, Vol. XX, pp. 251 ff.

> "But the problem has other aspects too, and it has been further proved that not only linguistic but certain cultural and political facts also of the ancient history of India can be explained by admitting an Austro-Asiatic element. In 1923 Prof S. Lévi tried to show that some geographical names of ancient India like Kosala-Tosala, Aṅga-Vaṅga, Kaliṅga-Triliṅga, Utkala-Mekala, and Pulinda-Kulinda, ethnic names which go by pairs, can be explained by the morphological system of the Austro-Asiatic languages. In 1926 Prof Przyluski tried to explain the name of an ancient people of the Punjab, the Udumbara, in a similar way and affiliate it to the Austro-Asiatic group. In another article, the same scholar discussed some names of Indian towns in the geography of Ptolemy and tried to explain them by Austro-Asiatic forms (pp. xii-xiii)".
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> "In another series of articles, Prof Przyluski is trying to prove a certain number of Indian myths by the Austro-Asiatic influence. He studied the Mahābhārata story of Matsyagandhā and some legends of the nāgī, in Indian literature, compared them with similar tales in the Austro-Asiatic domain and concluded that these stories and legends were conceived in societies living near the sea, societies of which the civilisation and social organisation were different from those of the neighbouring peoples, the Chinese and the Indo-Aryans." (p. xiii).

The bearing of all these interesting investigations on the question under discussion has thus been admirably expressed by S. Lévi :

> "We must know whether the legends, the religion and philosophical thought of India do not owe anything to this past. India has been too exclusively examined from the Indo-European standpoint. It ought to be remembered that India is a great maritime country, open to a vast sea forming so exactly its Mediterranean, a Mediterranean of proportionate dimensions—which for a long time was believed to be closed

on the south. The movement which carried the Indian colonisation towards the Fast Est, probably about the beginning of the Christian Era was far from inaugurating a new route, as Columbus did in navigating towards the west. Adventurers, traffickers and missionaries profited by the technical progress of navigation, and followed under the best condition of comfort and efficiency the way traced from times immemorial by the mariners of another race whom the Aryan or Aryanised India despised as savages." (pp. 125-26).

In other words, the cumulative effect of all these researches is to push back the first phase of Indian colonisation in the Far East to a time prior to the Aryan or Dravidian conquest of India. It will not perhaps be rash to imagine that, that colonisation was partly, at least, the result of Dravidian and Aryan settlements in India which dislodged the primitive settlers and forced them to find a new home across the seas.[1]

It may be noted, however, that conclusion of an almost opposite character has been arrived at by certain scholars. Krom, for example, believes that the Indonesians had colonized India in primitive times, and the later Aryan colonization of the Far East was merely the reverse of that process.[2] This is in flagrant contradiction to the views of Schmidt and Lévi and seems to be based mainly on the theory of Mr J. Hornell. In his Memoir on "*The origins and ethnological significance of the Indian Boat Designs*" Mr Hornell "admits a strong Polynesian influence on the Pre-Dravidian population of the southren coast of India. He thinks that a wave of Malayan immigration must have arrived later, after the entrance of the Dravidians on the scene, and it was a Malayan people who brought from the Malay Archipelago the cultivation of the Coco-palm" (p. xvii).

Two other observations by different scholars probably lend colour to this view. In the first place, Prof Das Gupta "has brought out the striking anology between some sedentary games of India (specially of the Central Provinces, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and the Punjab) and those of Sumatra" (p. xvii).

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[1] Kern also held a similar view, *cf VG*, Vol. XV, p. 180. He held that they came from India, their ultimate home being Central Asia. This is not in conflict with his original view that the homeland of the Malayo-Polynesians was the eastern coast of Further India.

[2] Krom, *Geschiedenis*, p. 38.

Secondly, we have the following remarks made by Dr J.H. Hutton with reference to some prehistoric monoliths of Dimapur near Manipur. "The method of erection of these monoliths is very important, as it throws some light on the erection of prehistoric monoliths in other parts of the world. Assam and Madagascar are the only remaining parts of the world where the practice of erecting rough stones still continues . . . The origin of this cult is uncertain, but it appears that it is to be mainly imputed to the Mon-Khmer intrusion from the east." In his opinion these monoliths take the forms of the *liṅgam* and *yoni*, and he thinks that they possibly originated in Indonesia (pp. xvii-xviii).

In all these cases the similarity that undoubtedly exists may be explained by supposing either that India derived the practices from Indonesia or that Indonesia derived them from India. The recent discoveries at Mohenjodaro,[1] however, prove the existence of the cult of *Liṅga* and *Yoni* in the Indus Valley at least in the beginning of the third millennium B.C. Thus the migration of the cult towards the east seems most probable. Considering the whole course of Indian History it seems more probable that the migration of the people and ideas was generally from India towards the east and no tangible evidence has yet been obtained that the process was just the reverse. On the whole, therefore, the views of Schmidt and Sylvain Lévi appear far more reasonable than those of Hornell and Hutton.

In view of a possible prehistoric connection between India and Malayasia it is necessary to examine in all its bearings the world Malaya which has given the name to the dominant race and the dominant language in Malayasia. It is a well-known fact that an Indian tribe called Mālava (*var. Mālava*) or Mālaya (var. *Malaya*) is known from very ancient times. The common form, of course, is *Mālava*, but the form '*Mālaya*' also occurs on their coins. In a discussion of these coins Mr Douglas maintained that *Mālaya* is the older form of the tirbal name. His conclusion rests chiefly on the Greek form of the name.

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[1] Marshall, *The Indus Civilization*, pp. 58 ff.

"The Greeks" says he "called them the Malloi. Had the name Mālava been in common use at that time, I feel sure that the Greeks would have transliterated the word as the Malluoi. This seems to me to show that the commoner form of the tribal name at the time of the Greek invasions was Mālaya."[1]

Whatever we may think of this view, there is no doubt that both the forms were in common use. The form Malaya occurs in *Mudrarākṣasa*[2] and Mālaya in an inscription found at Nasik.[3] The interchange of *y* and *v* is also attested by the alternative names of a Sātavāhana king as Pulumāyi and Pulumāvi.[4]

The antiquity of the Mālava-Mālaya tribe is proved by Pāṇini's reference to it as a clan living by the profession of arms (*āyudhajīvin*). There is no doubt also that the Mālavas were widely spread in different parts of India. Alexander met them in the Punjab, but their settlement in Rajasthan is proved by the discovery of thousands of their coins at Nagar in Jaipur State[5] and the reference in the Nasik inscription mentioned above.

The Indian literature also makes frequent references to the Mālavas. The *Mahābhārata* knows of various Mālava tribes in the west, north and south.[6] The *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Matsya purāṇa* include the Mālavas among the eastern tribes[7] while various other texts refer to them, as a people in one or other parts of India.

The wide spread of the Mālavas may also be guessed from Indian dialects or toponyms connected with them. Mr Grierson has referred to a Malavia dialect extending from Ferozepur to Bhatinda in the Punjab and we have also the well-known Malayalam language of southern India. The well-known Indian provinces of Mālava in northern India and

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[1] *JASB* (N.S.), Vol. XIX (1924), Numismatic supplement No. XXXVII, p. 43.

[2] Act 1, verse 20.

[3] Rapson, *Catalogue of the coins of the Andhras*, etc., p. LVII.

[4] *Ibid.*, f. n. 1.

[5] V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 161 ff., 170 ff.

[6] *Cf. Mahabharata*, III-32, II-51, VI, 87, 106.

[7] *Ramayana*, IV. 40, V. 22; *Matsyapurana*, Ch. 114, V. 34.

Malayabar or Malabar in southern India still testify to the influence of that tribal name. The Malaya mountain, the source of sandalwood, is referred to in the Purāṇas and other ancient literature as one of the seven *Kulaparvatas* or boundary mountains in India. Lastly the famous era, beginning in 58 B.C. has been associated with the Mālavas from the earliest times.

The Buddhist literature also refers to Malaya country. The famous *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* is said to have been delivered by the Buddha in the city of Laṅkā on the summit of the Malaya mountain on the border of the sea. The Buddhist reference to Malaya has been regarded by some as purely imaginary but the existence of a Malaya mountain in Ceylon is proved by Ptolemy and *Mahāvaṁsa*. That of a Malaya country and a Malaya mountain in the south of India also rests on definite grounds. The great Buddhist Vajrabodhi who came to China in 719 A.D. is described as a native of the Malaya country adjoining Mount Potalaka, his father being preceptor of the king of Kāñchī. Hiuen Tsang places the country of Malakūta, 3000 *li*. south of Kāñchī and refers to its mountains Malaya and Potalaka. Alberuni also places Malaya 40 *farsakhs* (about 160 miles) south of Kāñchī. Thus we have both a Mālava country and a Malaya mountain in the extreme south of the Indian Peninsula.[1] There is no doubt that this name is preserved in modern Malabar which the Arab geographers call either Malaya-bar or simply Malay.[2]

While the *Mālava* and *Mālaya* can thus be traced as tribal or geographical names all over India, up to its north-western, eastern and southern extremities, the spread of this name across the sea is no less conspicuous. On the east, the famous Malays of Malayasia, the place names Malay and Malacca in the Peninsula, Malayu in Sumatra.[3] Mālā or

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[1] S. Levi in *JA*, CCVI, pp. 65 ff; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 229-31; McCrindle Ptolemy, p. 249 Geiger, *Mahavamsa*, p. 60; Sachau, *Alberuni*. Vol. I. p. 200, and also *BEFEO*. Vol. IV, p. 359.

[2] Ferrand, *Textes*, p. 38, f.n. 5, pp. 204, 340.

[3] The name Malayu is very common in Sumatra. There are a mountain and a river of that name : there are five villages called Malayu and a tribe of that name. c.f. *T'oung Pao*, series II, Vol. II. p. 115.

Mālava for Laos and perhaps even Molucca islands in the eastern extremity of the Archipelago, and on the west Maldives (Māladvīpa), and Malay the ancient name of Madagascar[1] testify to the spread of the name in Indio-China and along the whole range of the southern ocean.

Now Ferrand has drawn our attention to the fact that the Indonesian language, mixed with Sanskrit vocabulary, was current in Madagascar. Combining this fact with other traditional evidences he has come to the conclusion that Madagascar was colonised in ancient times by Hinduised Indonesians.[2] It is not necessary for the present to discuss the further implications of this theory as enunciated by Ferrand, and I must rest content by pointing out the bearing of the account of Mālava-Mālaya, as given above, on this as well as several other theories.

Now the theories of Schmidt, Lévi, Hornell and Hutton (as modified by the discoveries at Mohenjodaro) referred to above all presuppose or are at least satisfactorily explained by a stream of migration of Indian peoples towards the east and south-east, to Assam, Burma, Indo-China and Malay-Archipelago, both by land and sea. The migrations of the Mālava tribe, so far as we can judge from the occurrence of geographical names, follow as we have seen above, exactly this course, as we can trace them from the Punjab to Assam on the one side and to Malabar on the other.

From Malabar we can trace the name, in the east through Ceylon (Mālaba mountain in Laṅkā) and Sumatra (Malyu) to Malaya Peninsula, perhaps even to Moluccos. On the west we can trace it from Malabar to Maldives and Madagascar. It is no doubt more reasonable to explain the linguistic facts observed by Ferrand in Madagascar by supposing a common centre in India from which the streams of colonisation proceeded both towards the east as well as towards the west, than by supposing that Hindu colonists first settled in

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[1] Ferrand, *op. cit.* 389, 396.

[2] *JA*, II-XII, (1918), pp. 121 ff.; *Ibid.*, II-XIV, (1919), pp. 62 ff. and pp. 201 ff. Krom, however, thinks that the Indonesian people colonised Madagascar before they came into contact with the Hindus. He attributes the Indian element in the language of Madagascar to later intercourse. *Geschiedenis*, pp. 38-9.

Malayasia and then turned back to colonise Madagascar. The people of Madagascar have a tradition that their ancestors came from Mangalore.[1] This place is located by Ferrand in the south of Malay Peninsula, but it should not be forgotten that Mangalore is the name of a well-known place in Malabar Coast, and is referred to by Arab writers as one of the most celebrated towns of Malabar.[2]

I do not wish to be dogmatic and do not altogether reject the views of Ferrand. But the known facts about the Mālava-Mālaya tribe in India seem to me to offer quite a satisfactory explanation not only of the problem of colonisation of Madagascar but also of the racial, linguistic and cultural phenomena observed by Schmidt, Hutton and Hornell. It is interesting to note in this connection that various words inscribed on the coins of the Mālavas which have been provisionally explained as names of tribal leaders, are non-Sanskritic. Thus we have Bhapamyana, Majupa, Mapojaya, Mapaya, Magajaśa, Magaja, Magojava, Gojara, Masapa, Mapaka, Pachchha, Magachchhe, Gajandva. Jāmaka. Jamapaya, Paya. Whatever the language may be, it shows one peculiar Austronesian characteristic, which has been traced by Sylvain Lévi in certain geographical nomenclatures of ancient India, *viz.* the existence of a certain number of words constituting almost identifical pairs, differentiated between themselves only by the nature of their initial consonants. Among the terms on the Mālava coins noted above we may easilly select two series of this type :

1. Paya, Ma-paya, Ja-ma-paya.
2. Gajava, Magojava.

The tribe Mālava-Mālaya has played a great part in the history of India. Its name is associated with an old language, the most ancient era and two important provinces of India. The Mālaya tribe has played an equally dominant part in the Indian seas. It has been the dominant race in the Indian

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[1] *JA*, XIV (1919), p. 64.
[2] Ferrand, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

Archipelago and its name and language are spread over a wide region extending almost from Australia to African coast. I have shown enough grounds above for the presumption—and it must not be regarded as anything more than a mere presumption—that the Mālava of India may be looked upon as the parent stock of the Mālayas who played such a leading part in the Malayasia. It may be interesting to note here that Przyluski has shown from linguistic data that Udumbara or Odumbara was the name of an Austro-Asiatic people of the Punjab and also designated their country.[1] The Odumbaras were neighbours of the Mālavas and the coins of the two peoples belong approximately to the same period.[2] Thus, *prima facie* there is nothing inherently objectionable in the assumption that the Mālava-Mālaya may also be the name of an Austro-Asiatic people.

If the presumption be held a reasonable one, we may refer to Ptolemy's account as an evidence that the Mālayas had spread to the Far East before his time. Ptolemy refers to mountain Malaya in Ceylon and Cape Maleou Kolon in the Golden Khersonesus. Regarding the latter, McCrindle remarks as follows :

> "Mr Crawford has noticed the singular circumstance that this name is pure Javanese signifying 'Western Malays'. Whether the name Malay can be so old is a question; but I observe that in Bastian's Siamese extracts the foundation of Takkhala is ascribed to the Malays."

Thus indications are not wanting that various branches of the Malay tribe had settled in Malayasia before the second century A.D. There is a general tradition among the Malays of Minankaban that their parent-stock came from India and settled in the western coast of Sumatra.[3]

Thus while it is impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion in this matter, prehistoric migrations of Austronesian tribes from India to Malayasia appear very probable, and if this view be correct, we may regard the Indian Mālaya-Mālava people as one of these tribes.[1]

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[1] P.C. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-60.

[2] V.A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 160 ff., p. 166.

[3] *cf.* Ferrand, *JA*, XII, p. 77.

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[1] Although I have arrived at the theory of the Indian origin of the Malays quite independently, it is only fair to note that Gerini made the same suggestion in his "*Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia* (p. 101 ff.). I have not referred to his views as they are mixed up with a great deal of extraneous matter and some amount of fanciful etymological derivations. So far as I can see, his view rests primarily on resemblances of geographical names.

Gerini explains Maleou-Kolon as referring to two prominent Indian tribal names—Malay and Kola (Crola) of south India, and he traces many other south Indian tribal names to the Malay Peninsula (pp. 102-03). He holds that Malacca was either a modification of Malaykolam or Malayaka (meaning the country of the Malays) or identical with Mālaka, the name of a southern Indian tribe mentioned in the *Mahabharata* (p. 105). I have tentatively adopted this view in respect of both Malacca and Moluccos. With the exception of this and the statement that Laos is referred to as Mālava (p. 117) I have not borrowed from Gerini any views or statements recorded in this chapter.

I must also state that it is usually held, though without sufficient reason, that the term Malaya as designating the Malay Peninsula came into use only in the seventeenth century A.D. (*J. Mal. Br. RAS.*, 1930, p. 85), presumably in consequence of the migratian of a large number of Malays from Sumatra, in the fifteenth century A.D. (*Bull, com. Arch Indo-Chine*, 1909, p. 184). Blagden refers to I-tsing's Malayu and infers that Malaya country, *par excellence* was in Central Sumatra, a fact agreeing very well with native Malay tradition on the subject which derives the origin of many of the Malays of the Peninsula from the old Central Sumatran State of Menangkaban (*J. Str. Br. RAS*, No. 32, pp. 211-13). This view admits the possibility of the name Malaya being applied to the Peninsula at an earlier date. *Cf.* Crawford *Dictionary*, pp. 250-52.

14

Srikshetra-A Hindu Colonial: Kingdom In Burma

The beginnings of Hindu colonisation in Burma

It is a well-known fact that since the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier still, the Hindus,—taking the expression in the widest sense so as to include all people of India apart from their religious profession—had been setting up colonies in various parts of Indo-China and the islands of the Indian Archipelago. This colonial movement was due to the same causes, and followed more or less the same processes, as we have witnessed in more recent times, particularly in regard to European colonies. But there was an essential difference. The Hindu colonists settled among the people of their adopted country, and did not maintain racial aloofness, or form so many outposts for the extension of political or military power of the motherland. They were lured by considerations of trade and commerce or urged by missionary activity or a spirit of military adventure, but once they were settled in the new land, they merged themselves into, and became part and parcel of, the indigenous people. Instead of using the colonies as fields for exploitation and enrichment of their own country, the Hindu colonists used these as so many bases for spreading Indian culture and civilisation in all its aspects. While they thus moulded the native peoples by the introduction of a higher culture, they themselves were slowly transformed by close contact with them, and were ultimately absorbed in them without leaving any distinctive trace of their existence as a separate racial unit. But although they were thus dissolved into the native elements, the relics of Hindu civilisation introduced by them such as art, literature, religion and social, ideas, have kept alive the memory of that vast colonial enterprise which forms such a brilliant episode in the history of India.

Burma, being the nearest to India, and accessible both by land and sea, was probably colonized by the Hindus at a very early period. As there were Hindu colonies in Malay Peninsula and Cambodia in the first and second centuries A.D. it may be held on general grounds that Hindu colonization in Burma dates from an earlier period. Unfortunately, positive evidence is lacking and we have to rely, for the beginnings of Hindu colonization in Burma, mostly on local traditions and inferences from archaeological remains of a later date.

The Burmese chronicles record stories of Indian colonization even before the birth of Gautama Buddha. But these texts were composed in the eighteenth century though they certainly incorporated older traditions. The antiquity of the Hindu colonization is supported in a general way by the identification of Ptolemy's place-names, which may be reasonably located in Burma, with traditional Hindu localities, the occurrence of isolated Brahmi letters in some records, and the reference to large Buddhist settlements in Burma in Chinese chronicles of the third century A.D., but we have no reliable account of its early history. The beginnings of Indian colonization in Burma, as in the rest of Indo-China, are thus shrouded in darkness and are merely echoed in local legends. These legendary accounts of early Indian immigrants into Burma are many and varied in character, and have been recorded in local chronicles which we possess in quite a large number. The most widely accepted legends about Indian settlements in Burma may be summed up as follows :[1]

> Abhirāja, the prince of the Śākya clan of Kapilavastu marched with an army to Upper Burma, founded the city

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[1] For the legends, *cf.* G.E. Harvey, *History of Burma;* A. Phayre, *History of Burma; The Glass Palace Chronicle*, translated by Pe Maung Tin and G.H. Luce.

of Sankissa (Tagaung) on the Upper Irrawadi, and set himself up as the king of the surrounding region. After his death the kingdom was divided in two parts. The elder ruled over Arakan and the younger over Tagaung. Thirty-one generations of kings ruled over Tagaung when the kingdom was overthrown by tribes coming from the east. About this time, when Gautama was still alive, a second band of Kshatriyas from the Gangetic valley in India arrived in Upper Burma under Daza Raja (Daśarāja). He occupied the old capital and married the widow of its last king. After sixteen generations of kings of the second dynasty had ruled, the kingdom of Tagaung was over run by foreign invaders, who dethroned the king.

The elder son of this king had a miraculous escape and founded a new kingdom with his capital near modern Prome. His son Dutta Baung founded the great city of Thare Khettara (Śrīkshetra) nearby and made it his capital. Eighteen kings ruled after him till 84 A.D. when a civil war broke out. On the three constituent tribes Pyu, Kanran and Mramma, the first two fought for supremacy for eleven years. The Pyu having gained the contest by an artifice, the Kanran went off to Arakan. The Pyu themselves were shortly after defeated by the Mons or Talaings of the south, and after wandering in various regions founded the city of Pagan and settled there. After this the chronicles do not mention the separate tribes and the name Mramma, from which is derived the modern name Burma, appears as the national designation of the people as a whole.

According to this legend the Pyu tribes[1] ruled over a powerful kingdom with its capital, first at Śrīkshetra, near Prome, and then at Pagan. Fortunately we know a great deal about these Pyus, both from the Chinese history and from the remains dug up by recent excavations at Hmawza (near Prome) which represents the site of ancient Śrīkshetra. The Burmese chronicles, written at a time when the Burmese tribe had held undisputed sway over the country for many centuries represent the Pyu as one of the constituent tribes of the Burmese. But philological investigation into the language of the Pyus shows that they were very distantly related to the Mrammas or Burmese proper, and should be regarded for all practical purposes, as a separate racial unit.[1] Historically, the Burmese do not play any part in the history of Burma before the eleventh century A.D., and it is generally held now that their migration into the country in large numbers does not probably date much earlier. In any case during the first millenium of the Christian era, Burma proper (excluding Arakan) contained only two important groups of people, *viz.* the Mons or Talaings in the coastal region in the south and south-east, and the Pyus along the valley of the Upper and the Lower Irrawady from Shwebo district in the north to Prome in the south. The Hindu colonists settled among these two peoples and introduced Hindu culture and civilisation among them.

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[1] The real name of this people is not known with certainty. The later Burmese chronicles refer to them as Pyu and this form was evidently the origin of the name Piao, by which the Chinese knew them. According to the *New History of Tang Dynasty* the Piaos called themselves Tu-lo-chu and the Javanese called them Tu-li-chu. Now in a Mon Inscription (No. ix) of Kyanzittha's reign found at Pagan, reference is made, in course of a detailed description of an elaborate ceremony, to the "Burmese singing, Mon singing and Tircul singing". It has been suggested that in this Tircul we have approximation to the actual name of the Pyus. It has also been pointed out that a very similar name Trsul (or T *Sul*) is used by the Persian authors of the 9th and 10th centuries

Kingdom of Srikshetra

To the north of the Mons in Lower Burma the Hinduised Pyus established a kingdom with Śrīkshetra (Modern Hmawza near Prome) as the capital. According to the legends quoted above, this kingdom was founded by the Hindu or Hinduised royal dynasty of Tagaung on the Irrawadi in Upper Burma. There is no inherent improbability in the assumption that the Indian colonists who went by land route to Upper Burma form east India, through Manipur, gradually spread southwards along the Irrawadi. But in view of the fact that prome was much nearer the sea in those days than at present, the arrival of fresh

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A.D. to indicate a country adjacent to China; *cf. Journ. Burma Res. Soc.*, Vol. XXII, p. 90 and Vol. XXVII, p. 241.

[1] *ARASI.*, 1921-22, p. 185.

Indian colonists by sea, or by land through Arakan, cannot be altogether discounted and even appears quite probable. On the whole it would be much safer to take the Pyu as a distinct political unit, and regard the kingdom of Śrīkshetra as a separate Hindu colony, and rather then a mere offshoot, that of Upper Burma. Although the inscribed records of the Pyus discovered so far do not enable us to reconstruct even an outline of their political history, they furnish the names of certain kings and throw light upon their culture and civilisation. The records were all found at or near Hmawza (old Prome), the site of the ancient Pyu capital, and we may notice a few of them :

(1) An inscription, engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha image, composed in beautiful Sanskrit verse, interspersed with Pyu renderings of Sanskrit Text. The script and the style of the image both resemble those of Eastern India of about the seventh century A.D. It appears from the record that the image of the Buddha was set up by King Jayachandravarman at the instance of his *guru* (religious preceptor) for maintaining peace and good will between the king and his younger brother Harivikrama. We are further told that King Jayachandra built two cities side by side[1].

(2) Seven inscriptions on five funeral urns, found near the Payagi Pagoda, contain the names of three kings Harivikrama, Siha (Siṁha) Vikrama, and Suriya (Sūrya) Vikrama. The dates in these inscriptions have been interpreted to refer to the period between 673 and 718 A.D., but this is by no means certain. The inscriptions are written in Pyu language and archaic south Indian alphabets which appear to belong to a much earlier period[2].

(3) A Pyu inscription on a *stupa* gives the names or titles of donors as Sri Prabhuvarma and Sri Prabhudevi and most probably these are the king and the queen[3].

The antiquity and the importance of the Pyus is proved by the fact that the earliest notices in Chinese texts[1] regarding Burma refer to the people as P'iao, which undoubtedly is the same as Pyu. These notices go back to the third century A.D. and show that the Pyus then occupied the valley of the Irrawadi. The continued texts between the third and seventh century A.D. The account of Hiuen Tsang[2] shows that the Hinduised Pyu kingdom of Śrīkshetra was the first great Hindu kingdom beyond the frontier of east India in the seventh century A.D. The several inscriptions, noted above, probably also belong to the same period.

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[1] *Ibid.*, 1927-28, p. 128; 1930-31, p. 219.

[2] *Epi, Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 127 ff.

[3] *ARASI*, 1926-27, p. 175.

The rise of the powerful Thai kingdom of Nan-chao[3] in Yunnan proved a source of great danger to the Pyus. The Thais of Non-chao seem to have dominated Upper Burma in the eighth and ninth centuries. Ko-lo-fong, the King of Nan-chao, inflicted a defeat upon the Chinese in 754 A.D., and the internal dissensions of the Chinese empire, following shortly after, freed him from any danger in that quarter. He, therefore, turned his attention to the west and invaded the Pyu kingdom. The Pyu-Nan-chao frontier corresponded with the present Sino-Burman frontier in the neighbourhood of Bhamo. The Pyu king seems to have submitted to his powerful neighbour, when I-meu-sin, the grandson of Ko-lo-fong submitted to China towards the close of the eighth century and sent embassies to the Imperial court, the Pyu king also imitated his example. In 802 A.D. he sent an embassy led by his brother (or son) Sunandana, governor of the city of Śrī (perhaps Bhamo or Tagaung), and sent the musicians of his court as present to the Chinese emperor. Another embassy was sent in 807 A.D. It is presumably from these embassies that the Chinese derived the information about the country which we find recorded in Chinese chronicles. According to the Chinese account the Pyu kingdom was 500 miles from east to west and 700 or 800 miles from north to south. It adjoined Kamboja on the east and the sea on the south. On its south-west (probably meaning south-east) was Dvārāvati and on its west, eastern India. It extended up to Nan-chao on the north. The Pyu claimed to have 18 subject kingdoms mostly to the south of Burma, but as the list includes Palembang Java, Śrāvastī Champā. etc., it is largely an empty boast. Lists of 8 or 9 garrison towns and of the 32 most important among the 298 tribes or settlements are also given.

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[1] For the Chinese notices regarding the Pyus *cf. BEFEO*, Vol. IV, pp. 165-173; *Journ. Burma Res. Soc.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 240 ff.

[2] Watters, Vol. II, p. 187.

[3] For an account of the kingdom of Nan-chao *cf.* a series of articles by E. Rocher in *T'oung Pao*, Series I, Vol. X, *BEFEO*, Vol. IV; pp. 152-169. F. 53.

The *Old History of the Tang Dynasty* gives the following account :

> "The king's name is Mahāraja. His Chief Minister is Mahāsena. The city-wall is faced with glazed bricks; it is 27 miles in circumference. The banks of the moat are faced with bricks. Withint he walls the inhabitants number several thousands of families. There are over a hundred Buddhist monasteries with courts and rooms all decked with gold and silver. It is their custom to love life and hate killing. Their laws contain no mention of punishment nor any kind of chains or fetters. When they come to the age of seven both boys and girls drop their hair and stop in a monastery where they take refuge in the *Sangha*. On reaching the age of twenty, if they have not awakened to the principles of the Buddha, they let their hair grow again and become ordinary townsfolk. Their clothes are all made of silk-cotton cloth(?) They do not wear silk because they say, it comes from silkworms and involved injury to life.

The *Man-Shu* adds that the Pyu custom is "to esteem modesty and decency. Their disposition is peaceful and good. They are men of few words. There are many fortune-tellers and astrologers."

The New History of the Tang Dynasty contains a long passage about the Pyus from which the following extracts are made :

> "There are twelve gates with *pagodas* at the four corners : the people all live within. They make their tiles of lead and tin, and their timber of *lychee*. They are acquainted with astronomy and delight in Buddha's law. There is a great white image, 100 ft. high ("opposite the gate of the palace",

adds the *Man-Shu*). Their money is of silver and gold (*Man-Shu* says only of silver) shaped like the half-moon. They traffic with their neighbouring tribes in glazed ware and earthen jars, among other things. The married women wear their hair piled in coils on the top of the head and ornamented with silver and strings of pearls. They wear blue skirts of silk-cotton (?) and throw about them pieces of gauze. When out for a walk, they hold a fan. Those of high rank have five or six attendants at their side, all holding fans. They have 22 musical instruments, made of 8 different substances-of metal, 2; of shell, 1; of string 7; of bamboo 2; of gourd, 2; of leather, 2; of ivory, 1; and of horn, 2 (detailed description follows of these musical instruments and the dress of the musicians and dancers). The twelve songs they sang at the Chinese Court were on Buddhist themes''.

The musical instruments appear to be mostly those with which we are familiar in India. The number and variety of instruments and the excellence of the musical performance which produced great impression on the Chinese Court indicate that the Hinduised Pyus had attained to a high degree of civilization. This is fully borne out by the other facts that we know about them, from their inscriptions, artistic remains and the manner and customs described by the Chinese.

How and when the kingdom of Śrīkshetra came to an end is not known with certainty. In 832 A.D. the king of Nan-chao invaded the Pyu kingdom. According to *Man-Shu* the invaders "plundered the Pyu captital, took more than 3,000 persons as prisoners and banished them into servitude at Yannanfu," Man-chao's eastern capital. Some scholars are of opinion that this brought about sudden end of the Pyu kingdom. But, as Pelliot points out, the Pyu kingdom continued after that and sent an embassy to China in 862 A.D.[1]

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[1] The end of the Pyus as a political power is an intricate problem which cannot be discussed here. There are good grounds to believe that the Pyus played an important role in Pagan, after the fall of Srikshetra-down to the 13th century A.D. *cf. Report, Arch. Survey, Burma*, 1915-16 p. 18. It was at one time held that about the end of the 13th century the Pyus were lost sight of; *cf. Ann. Rep. A.S.I.* 1930-33, p. 190. But an inscription found in Ava, while describing a ceremonial in 1510 A.D.

It would appear from the Chinese accounts that the Pyu kingdom in the ninth century A.D. included a large part, if not the whole, of Upper and Central Burma. But, we know very little of this kingdom after the ninth century. It is probable that they were worsted in a fight with the Mons of the south and removed their capital higher up on the Irrawadi, probably at Pagan.[1]

Hindu Culture in Srikshetra

Although we know little of the political history of the kingdom of Śrīkshetra, we have a better knowledge of its culture and civilization from a study of the archaeological remains that have been unearthed during recent excavations.[2]

These excavations have been carried on, more or less regularly, since 1907. "The site is now called Yathemyo, the city of the Hermit, and is five miles to the east of Prome, and the Railway station of Hmawza is included within its area. The ruins are found scattered within, roughly speaking, an area of four-hundred square miles, that is to say, within a distance of about ten miles in the direction of the cardinal points from the Railway station as the centre". It is interesting to note that a village in this area is still known as Kalagangon, which means the village near the mound by the Indian tank. Many important ancient objects of Hindu culture have been found near this village. The important objects found in course of the excavations of the ancient site of Śrīkshetra may be classified under the following heads :

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refers to "the daughters of Brahmans and Pyus employed in spinning thread", *Ibid.*, 1934-35, p. 49. As the present article deals, not with the history of the Pyus, but with that of Śrīkshetra, the topic is not discussed here.

[1] It has been suggested that the capital of the Pyus in the ninth century was probably Halin, *Journ. Bur. Res. Soc.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 28-49, but no evidence in support of this has been cited beyond the fact that three inscriptions of the Pyus have been found there.

[2] The reports of these excavations are contained in the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India* and the Provincial Circle. The account that follows is based on these reports. It would be a tedious task to give detailed references.

I. Terracotta votive Tablets
II. Inscriptions
III. Sculpture
IV. Buildings

I. The number of Terracotta votive tablets discovered in Hmawza is prodigious. Single mounds have yielded hundreds of them. They show a variety of desings showing the figures of the Buddha, in various *mudras* or attitudes, and the Bodhisattvas, or the scenes from the Buddha's life. Many of these tablets contain the well-known Buddhist formula '*Ye dharmā hetuprabhavā*, etc'., and sometimes short extracts from *Abhidhamma Pitaka*. The earlier specimens may be referred to the period fifth to seventh century A.D.

II. Quite a large number of inscriptions, besides those on votive tablets, have been found. They are written in Sanskrit, Pali, mixed Pali and Sanskrit, and in an unknown language which is regarded as that of the Pyus. The Pyu inscriptions are written in an alphabet which resembles the south Indian script specially that used by the Kadambas. The other inscriptions are written both in north and south Indian alphabets. In addition to the inscriptions on votive tablets, and the nine inscriptions containing names of kings, referred to above, the following may be mentioned as specially important :

1. Two gold plates found at the village of Maunggun, near Hmawza, containing extracts from the Pali Buddhist canon.
2. A manuscript containing, instead of palm-leaves, twenty leaves of gold, with writings on one side, which are short extracts in Pali from *Abhidhamma* and *Vinaya pitakas*.
3. A gold plate containing the first part of a well-known Buddhist formula occurring in the *Vinaya* and *Suttanta Pitakas*.
4. Thin gold and silver plates with writings in Pyu.
5. Pali Inscription on a small piece of stone broken into three fragments, containing an extract from the *Vibhanga*.

These and some other minor records, both in Pyu and Pali, may be referred, on palaeographic grounds to the period between fifth and seventh centuries A.D.

To a somewhat later period belongs the fairly long inscription of Jaychandravarman mentioned above. It is incised round the pedestal of a Buddha image and written both in Sanskrit and Pyu.

The Sanskrit phrases are very short, consisting of two words mostly, sometimes three and even one word; each is followed by a long explanation in Pyu. The Sanskrit portions, put together, constitute eight complete verses in the *Vaṁśasthavila* metre. The Pyu portion is in characters of an early south Indian script; some letter of the Sanskrit portion are somewhat different and traceable to the Gupta script of the seventh to eighth century A.D.

There are other inscriptions written in Sanskrit and Pyu, and on a bronze image of Buddha is written the Buddhist creed in Pali in north Indian script of the Gupta period. There are besides, figures on bricks, which are identical with, or closely resemble, the numerical figures used in Indian inscriptions of the Gupta period.

III. Numerous figures of the Buddha in brick, stone and bronze have come to light. Some of them may be referred to the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries A.D. and others may be somewhat later. Two gold images of the Buddha four-and-a half inches by two-and-a half inches have been referred to the tenth or eleventh century A.D. Some images of Bodhisattavas of the *Mahāyāna* pantheon have also come to light. Brahmanical images are comparatively much smaller in number. Mention may, however, be made of a Śivaliṅga and two images of Vishnu, one on Anantanāga and the other on Garuda. The style of the sculptures is decidedly Indian and some of them are of excellent workmanship. The cast of the Buddha's features is generally Indian though in some cases it seems to be indigenous.

IV. The whole site of Hmawza is covered with remains of ruined *stūpas*. Very few of them are, however, in a good state of preservation. A number of silver *stupas* have also been found. Sometimes a *stūpa* was encased in another. One of these, in a good state of preservation, shows a bell-shaped dome encircled by a round moulding in the middle. It rests on circular terraces and is surmounted by seven diminishing rings of mouldings, and a lotus-bud shaped *āmalaka* projecting from the midst of two layers of lotus-petals crowns the top. *Stūpas* represented on votive tablets show a cylindrical form of the shape of a lotus-bud, with decorative mouldings round the middle of the dome, which sometimes rests on lotus-petals and is crowned by umbrellas. A *stūpa* represented on a stone slab has the form which is very common in India. Another type characterised by a cylindrical dome with a rounded top is figured on a stone slab covering the relic chamber of a *stūpa*. There are three monuments at Hmawza, the shape of whose domes closely resembles that of this miniature *stūpa*. They are the Bawbawgyi, the Payagyi, and the Payama stupas which on stylistic grounds have been ascribed to the fifth to seventh or perhaps eighth century A.D. The Bawbawgyi, eighty feet high, has a dome, cylindrical in shape and closely akin to that represented on the slab, while the other two have conical domes.

Special reference should be made to a silver *stūpa* found inside the relic chamber in Khin Ba's mound (ruins of a *stūpa*). It measures about twenty six inches in height with a diameter of thirteen inches at the top and sixteen inches at the base. Around the drum of the *stūpas* are four seated Buddhas each with an attendant monk standing on one side. The *stūpa* itself is hollow with no bottom and is of silver plate with the images in repousé high relief. The top forming the cover is removable and has, around the rim, a line of inscription in Pyu and Pali in an early script of south India which may be assigned to the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century A.D. Each of the passages in Pyu gives the name of the Buddha immediately below it, and after each of these names comes a short extract consisting of a few words from the Pali scriptures. The names of the attendants were also inscribed under the figures. Around the lower rim of the *stūpa* was another line of Pyu inscription which contains the names of Śrī-Prabhuvarma and Śrī-Prabhudevi, probably the royal donors, as noted above. In the absence of a sufficient number of *stūpas* in a fair state of preservation it is difficult to trace the gradual evolution of its forms. There is no doubt, however, that they were all evolved from the *stūpas* of India.

Of the temples in ancient Śrīkshetra we have only a few unpretentious examples in brick, such as lemyet-hna and Bebe. The Lemyet-hna is square on plan measuring twenty-four feet on each side. Inside there is a solid mass, eight feet square, in the centre with a figure of the Buddha in a recessed niche on each face. Round this is a vaulted corridor four feet wide, which has communication passages with four arched doorways, one on each side at the centre. Externally the walls support a terraced roof of three sloping tiers in receding stages ending in a flat square slab which is directly supported by the solid mass below in the centre of the temple. The Bebe temple is similar in plan, but here the flat roof, in two receding stages, supports a high cylindrical structure which looks like, and was probably originally, a north Indian *śikhara*. These two temples may be dated about the eighth century A.D. Although none of these is distinguished for its massive grandeur or decorative sculptures, they undoubtedly furnished the plan and design of the magnificent temples which were erected at Pagan in later days. There is hardly any doubt that the art of Śrīkshetra, in architecture, as in sculpture, strongly influenced the later art of Burma. That this style was derived from Indian model is now generally admitted, though older writers looked for its prototypes in all regions of the globe outside India.

The archaeological remains, described above, leave no doubt of the though-going character of the Hindu culture in the kingdom of Śrīkshetra where the Pyu tribe came under the influence of the Hindu colonists. The Indian scripts, language and literature were widely known and all the principal religions of India, viz. Buddhism, both *Hinayana* and *Mahayāna*, Vaishṇavism and Śaivism flourished. The types of religious buildings in India were introduced and the arts and crafts were developed on Indian models. The very large number of *stūpas*, Buddha images, and votive tablets indicate the great influence of Buddhism among the people. How far it moulded the life of the masses is shown by the brief Chinese account of the Pyus. The fact that a part of the town was known as Peikthano-myo (Vishnu city) proves the deminance of Vaishnavism for some time.

So far as available evidence goes, Śrīkshetra is the earliest Hindu colonial kingdom in Burma known to us. There might have been still earlier Hindu settlements among the Mons or

Talaings in the coastal districts in south-east Burma, particularly in Pegu and Thaton, but no positive, evidence, except literary traditions of a later date, vouch for their existence. For the present Śrīkshetra is to be regarded as the earliest centre from which Indian culture radiated in all directions in Burma. The roots of the principal characteristics of later Hindu civilization in Burma—religion, art, literature and writing—may all be traced to Śrīkshetra, though that by no means precludes concurrent or later influences from other sources.

15

The Indian Epics in Indo-China

The great influence exercised by the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* over the life and literature of the Indians is well-known. It is only natural that the influence of the two Epics should be equally dominant in the colonies established by the Indians. The evidence of such influence is furnished by the Indo-Javanese literature which may be regarded as almost a creation of the two epics. But although the part played by the Indian Epics in the evolution of the art, literature and civilization of Java and Bali is better known and consequently widely recognised,[1] there are at least two other colonial kingdoms in the Far East, viz. Kambuja (Cambodia) and Champā (Annam) where the great Epics played an equally important role.

Neither Kambuja nor Champā developed a local literature like Java, and so we cannot trace the direct influence of the Indian Epics on the literature of these colonies. But we possess abundant evidence to prove that both the Epics were widely read and held in the highest esteem, and their various episodes were highly popular.

The most striking testimony is furnished by an inscription[2] of Champā, found at the site of the ancient capital of the kingdom known as Champāpura (now called Tra-kieu). This inscription records the construction of a temple and the installation of an image of Vālmīki by king Prakāsadharma whose reign covers the period from 656 to 687 A.D. The verses referring to Vālmīki are most interesting and read as follows :

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[1] There is an extensive literature on the subject. Readers unacquainted with Dutch may consult the following :
(*a*) R.C. Majumdar, *Suvarnadvipa*, Part II, Bk, V. Ch. IV; Bk. VI;
(*b*) H.B. Sarkar, *Indian Influences on the literature of Java and Bali*, Chs. VII-XIII.

[2] Edited in *BEFEO*, XXVII, p. 147.

यस्य शोकात् समुत्पन्नं श्लोकं ब्रह्माभिपूज[ति] ।
विष्णोः पुंसः पुराणस्य मानुषस्यात्मरूपिणः ।।1।।
* * * रितं कृत्यं कृतं येनाभिषेचनं ।
कवेराद्यस्य महर्षेर्वाल्मीकेश् श्र—रिह ।।2।।
पूजास्थानं पुनस्तस्य कृत········· ।
प्रकाशधर्म्मनृपतिः सर्व्वारिगणसूदनः ।।3।।

The opening line refers to the traditional account of the composition of the first poem by Vālmīki on seeing a *krauñcha* bird killed by a hunter and reminds us of the famous verse of Kalidasa (*Rāghuvaṁśa*, XIV, 70) which ends as follows :

निषादविद्धाण्डजदर्शनोत्थः
श्लोकत्वमापद्यत यस्य शोकः ।।

Tha author of the inscription was undoubtedly very familiar with the second chapter of the Adi-kāṇḍa of *Rāmāyaṇa* and his composition of the first line was inspired by it. We may compare it for example with the second half of the following verse of Ch. II (v. 18) :

पादबद्धोऽक्षरसमस्तन्त्रीलयसमन्वितः ।
शोकार्त्तस्य प्रवृत्तो मे श्लोको भवतु नान्यथा ।।

Besides, the reference to the appreciation by Brahma also occurs in the same chapter of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The second line of the inscription has been construed to mean that the great sage Valmiki, referred to in the next verse as the first poet, was a human incarnation of Vishnu. This interpretation is probable, but cannot be regarded as certain in view of the loss of some letters in the second verse. For, it is not unlikely that the reference here is to the Rama-incarnation of Vishnu, whose glory was sung by the poet. But whether Vālmīki was actually regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu or not, the fact that his image was worshipped in a temple leaves no doubt that he was regarded as a divinity. This indirectly proves the high regard which was paid to the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is noteworthy that there is no Indian tradition attributing divinity to the poet Vālmīki, and this was evidently an innovation introduced in Champā by the dominant part played by the immortal poem *Rāmāyaṅa*.

The popularity of the Epics is also reflected in the inscriptions of Cambodia. Thus we read in a record[1] of the sixth century A.D. that complete texts of the *Rāmāyaṇa* the *Mahābhārata* and the Puranas were kept in a Saiva temple, and arrangement was made for their daily recitation. The verse runs as follows :

रामायण-पुराणाभ्यामशेषं भारतन्ददात् ।
अकृतान्वहमच्छेद्यां स च तद्वाचनस्थितिम् ॥

That this was not an isolated example but a more or less regular practice in Cambodian temples follows from another inscription[2] in a temple, belonging to the 6th or 7th century A.D. It records that a manuscript of *Śāmbhava-adhyāya*, a portion of the *Adiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*, was deposited in the temple (library), and contains imprecations against those who destory this work of Vyāsa.

In addition to these direct references to the study of the Epics we get indirect evidence thereof in the frequent allusions to both the *Rāmāyaṅa* and the *Mahabarata* in the numerous Sanskrit inscriptions in Cambodia. Besides, the bas-reliefs of Aṅgkor Vat, the most famous temple of Cambodia, illustrate a large number of scenes from both the Epics. Prominent among these is the battlefield of Kuruksetra, depicting both Krisna and Arjuna in the front. Among the episodes from the *Rāmayaṅā* may be mentioned the pursuit of Marīca by Rama, his alliance with Sugrīva, fight between Vali and Sugriva, meeting, between Hanumān and Sīta at Laṅka, the battlefield of Lanka, return of Rama in the aerial car Pushpaka, *etc*. Other temples in Cambodia also contain similar illustrations.

A careful consideration of all these points reveals to us the great popularity which the two Epics once enjoyed in these far-off Indian Colonies. We have no evidence of an official cult of Valmīki in Cambodia as we find in Champa, but such a thing is not unlikely. A stone altar[1] has been found in Cambodia containing the words "*Oṁ Jaiminaye svāhā*" engraved on its four faces. This shows the defication of sage Jaimini, and affords an interesting parallel to the cult of Vālmīki in Champā.

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[1] Edited by Barth, *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 28

[2] *BFEEO*, XI. p. 393.

The influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Champā may also be judged from the fact that the modern Annamite versions of the Rāma legend localise the events in Annam itself. We have also Malayan versions of the Rāma legend—Hikāyat Sri Rāma—in which the events are described as having taken place in Malay Peninsula. The modern Malayan literature also contains a number of works based on the *Mahābhārata* These facts are sufficient to indicate the great role played by the two Indian Epics in the ancient Indian colonies in Indo-China.[2]

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[1] *BEFEO*, XXVII, p. 43.

[2] For the spread of the Rama-legend in Indonesia and its different versions *cf.*

(*i*) Stutterheim, *Rama-legenden and Rama-reliefs in Indonesien* (1924)

(*ii*) J. Kats, The Ramayana in Indonesia, *BSOS*, vol. IV, pp. 579-585.

16

Holy Kurukshetra in Laos

Laos has got an ancient history as a seat of Indian culture which is little known outside a small circle of specialists. It is on an interesting episode of this aspect of its history that I propose to say a few words.

Laos owes its name to the Laotians, an important division of the widespread Thai or Shan race, who form the chief elements of its population. The country is also inhabited by various aboriginal peoples known as Khas, an appellation of a primitive people frequently met within Indian literature. The big river Mekong flows through the country, which is entirely surrounded by China, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Annam, and Tongking. Its northern part is covered by a tangle of mountain-chains, clothed with dense forests and traversed by small rivulets, tributaries of the Mekong. The southern part is an extensive wooden plateau with an average altitude of between 3,000 and 5,000 feet (914 m and 1524 m). There are also wide plains, between hill ranges, watered by the affluents of the Mekong.

This far off inhospitable region, comparatively unknown to the civilized world till very recent times, was penetrated by the Hindus in ancient times—nearly two thousand years ago—and they developed a local culture of which many remains still exist in the shape of temples and images of Hindu gods, and inscriptions written in Sanskrit language and Indian script. A recently published Sanskrit inscription found in this region throws a great deal of light on the Hindu culture prevailing in Laos. As it has not yet attracted the attention of Indian scholars, I proceed to give a short account of the record which presents some interesting features.

The inscription is engraved on a stone stele in a locality known as Vat Luong Kau, close to the right bank of the Mekong immediately to the south of its junction with the rivulet Huei Sa Hua. The western face of the stele is badly damaged and the letters are mostly illegible, but the writings on the other three faces are in a good state of preservation. The inscription is not dated, but may be referred, on palaeographic grounds, to the second half of the fifth century A.D.

The inscription begins with a verse paying homage to Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva, and refers to a ceremony performed by the King. Then follows a description in prose, of the great King—Mahārājādhirāja Śrīmān Śrī-Devānīka—in a grandiloquent style, comparing him with Yudhishṭhira, Indra, Dhanañjaya, Indradyumna, Śibi, Mahāpurusha, Kanakapāṇḍya (?), the great ocean and Meru. In order to enable all beings to cross the ocean of existence (*apāra-saṁsāra-sāgarāt-taraṇāya*), he performed various religious ceremonies beginning with a grand sacrifice to Agni (*mahāgni-makha-purogamaṁ*), and made a gift of many thousands of cows. Next few lines are illegible but there are clear references to the *Agnihotra* sacrifice, images of Vishṇu and Śiva and the establishment of a holy place of pilgrimage. Bearing in mind the great merits acquired by those who live, take bath, or die in a *mahāītrtha* (a great place of pilgrimage), the King thought of setting up one, to be known as New Kurukshetra. The reason for this selection is given in the next fifteen verses (vv. 8-22) eulogizing the virtues of Kurukshetra. The texts of these verses are given at the end.

The merits of Kurukshetra, are mentioned in several Purāṇas. Thus, according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, the great Rishis performed a long sacrifice in Kurukshetra which is also a *dharmakshetra*, on the banks of the *Dṛishadvatī* (I. 12); it was most holy (*puṇyā-tama*-LIX, 107); residence in Kurukshetra is one of the four means of salvation (CV, 16); whereas shaving of head and fasting are prescribed in all holy places, exception is made only in respect of Kurukshetra and Gayā (CV, 25). The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* refers to the merit acquired by fasting in Kurukshetra(VI, 8.29). The *Matsya Purāṇa* refers to Kurukshetra as very holy (*mahā-puṇya*) and describes it as all other *tirthas* put together (*sarvvā-*

tīrtha-samanvitam (XXII, 18). Great interest, however, attaches to a verse in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (CIX, 3), which is identical with verse 13 of the present record. It will be discussed later.

All these are mostly isolated verses in the Purāṇas, containing brief references to the holiness of Kurukshetra as a place of pilgrimage, but they do not convey any idea of the pre-eminence of Kurukshetra over the other *tīrthas*. King Devānika, however, cites fifteen verses as authority for taking Kurukshetra to be the holy place *par excellence*. These are eulogistic verses such as are found in the Purāṇas in respect of many *tirthas*, but so far as I know, no such long eulogies in regard to Kurukshetra occur in any Purāṇa or other literature. There is, however, no doubt that Devānika or his Court *Paṇḍitas* must have come across such eulogies in Indian literature. This is proved by the fact that several verses in the inscription of Devānika may be traced in the *Mahābhārata*, Araṇyaka-parva, Chapter 81 (Critical Edition, Poona).

Thus the verse XI of the inscription, reads as follows:

Ta (trai) vāpi Kurukshetre vāsunā samudīritāḥ |
Mahādushkṛitakarmmāṇam nayanti paramaim gatim ||

and corresponds to the verse 174 of the Araṇyaka-parva:

Pāṁsavopi Kurukshetre vāyunā samudīritāḥ |
Api dushkṛitakarmāṇaṁ nayanti paramāṁ gatim ||

Now, the word which has been read as *vāsunā* in the inscription is clearly *vāyunā* in the estampage. The first two letters of the verse are very indistinct as the stone is damaged, and most probably they are *pāṁsa*. Besides, the line in the inscription, as read, gives no sense, while the verse in the *Mahābhārata* offers very good meaning. I have no doubt, therefore, that the first line of the verse in the inscription exactly corresponded to the first line of the verse in the *Mahābhārata*. The difference in the second line—*api* in the *Mahābhārata* and *mahā* in the inscription—is a very minor one, and the letters read as *mahā* are also very indistinct.

The first line of verse XII of the inscription exactly corresponds to the first line of verse 176 of the *Mahābhārata*, while the second line of verse XII forms the second line of verse 175 of the *Mahābhārata*.

The verse XIII of the inscription corresponds to the verse

173 of the *Mahābhārata*, which also occurs in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (Chapter 109, verse 3). This verse in the inscription has been read as follows :

Prithivyāṁ naimiśaṁ-puṇyam-antarīkshe tu pushkaram ।
Nṛpānāmapi lokānāṁ Kurukshetraṁ viśishyate ॥

The *Matsya Purāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* have got the following verse:

Pṛithivyāṁ naimiśaṁ puṇyamantarīkshe tu pushkaram ।
Trayāṇāmapi lokānaṁ Kurukshetraṁ viśishyate ॥

As will be seen, the only difference is the first word in the second line. But it appears from the estampage of the record that the word read by the Editor as *nṛpānām* is really *trayāṇāṁ* The two verses may therefore be regarded as identical for all practical purposes and proclaim the superiority of Kurukshetra over all other *tīrthas*. This suits the context very well in the record of Devānīka, for it justifies and explains the action of the King in creating a new Kurukshetra. It is, however, not so in the case of the *Matsya Purāṇa*. Here, after listening to the eulogy of Prayāga-*tīrtha* from Mārkaṇḍeya, Yudhishhṭira cites the above verse and then asks him why, in view of this verse, he lauds up Prayāga. He even expresses the opinion that what Mārkaṇḍeya said was not, therefore, authentic or trustworthy. In reply Mārkaṇḍeya reiterates his view and justifies it.

The verse cited in the *Matsya Purāṇa* shows that there was a time when Kurukshetra did really occupy the position of supremacy, but at the time when this *Purāṇa* received its present form, it lost that position. As a matter of fact, the existing Purāṇas devote more eulogistic verses to Vārāṇasī, Prayāga, Gayā and even many less known places than they do in respect of Kurukshetra. The *Mahābhārata*, however, shows by the number of verses devoted to Kurukshetra, that it was, still the holy of the holies, as believed in Laos in the fifth century A.D.

The occurrence of three crucial verses of the inscription in the *Mahābhārata* and of one in the *Matsya Purāṇa* leaves no doubt that the eulogy of Kurukshetra in Devānīka's record was based on some Indian authority. The invocation of the Trinity and the description of the king at the beginning of the record show the great familiarity of the Court *Paṇḍitas* of Devānika with Sanskrit literature in general and religious-*cum*-ritualistic texts in particular. It is difficult to believe that they would have composed the verses in honour of Kurukshetra without the authority of some Indian religious texts. The existence of such a *Kūrukshetra Māhātmya* is indicated by the common verses in the *Māhābhārata* and the inscription, specially the one which puts Kurukshetra above all other holy places of pilgrimage. If anybody can trace such *Māhātmya* in Sanskrit, it would be an important contribution. For we know that the record was composed in the second half of the fifth century A.D., and the text of the *Kurukshetra Māhātmya* on the lines of the record may be easily presumed to have been composed at least not later than the fourth century A.D., which is generally assumed to be the beginning of Purāṇa literature.

But whether such texts are ever found in India or not, the inscription of King Devānīka holds out before us a very interesting evidence of the spread of Hindu culture and civilization in far distant Laos, a region which never excited any interest in the heart of modern Indians until very recent times.

Virtues of Kurukshetra

5। ये वसन्ति महातीर्थे तत्र च ये मृता नराः।
स्तवनं ये च कुर्व्बन्ति तत्फलं प्राप्नुबन्तु ते ॥
6। यत्तत् पुण्योपमफलं प्रमासादिपुराकृतेः।
— —नामतदेवात्र भवतु धृतमद्य मे ॥
7। ये देवा यज्ञमात्रार्थमागतारोहिता दिबि।
ब्रह्मोपेन्द्रेश्वराद्यास्ते तन्नाम प्रदिशन्तु वै ॥
8। (इत्ये) वमादिप्रणिधी राज्ञश्चिन्तयतस्तदा।
नामगतं कुरुक्षे— — प्यफलैस्समम् ॥
9। यत्पूर्व्वाभिहितं स्वर्ग्यं फलं देवर्षि कीर्त्तितं।
(कुरुक्षे)त्रे तदेवास्तु कुरुक्षेत्रे नवोत्थिते ॥
10। ऋषिणा कुरुणा पूर्व्वं — —क्षेत्रीकृतं सतां।
तस्मादिति कुरुक्षेत्रं ख्यातं तीर्थं महाफलम् ॥
11। त (त्रै) वापि कुरुक्षेत्रे वासुना समुदीहिताः।
महादुष्कृतकर्म्माणं नयन्ति परमां गतिम् ॥
12। कुरुक्षेत्रं गमिष्यामि कुरुक्षेत्रे वसाम्यहम्।
ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टपे ॥

13 । पृथिव्यां नैमिशं पुण्यमन्तरीक्षे तु पुष्करम् ।
नृपानामपि लोकानां कुरुक्षेत्रं विशिष्यते ।।
14 । तन्नाम कीर्त्तनेनापि केन ह्यासण्तमं कुलम् ।
किं पुनर्य्येतु सेवन्ते मनुजा धर्म्मबुद्धयः ।।
15 । अश्वमेधसहस्रस्य वाजपेयशतस्य च ।
गवां शतसहस्रस्य संम्यग् दत्तस्य यत्फलम् ।।
16 । तत्फलं तु कुरुक्षेत्रे कुर्व्वन्ति स्तवनादि ये ।
तत्राप्यहेतु दुष्प्रापं लभन्ते ते ध्रुवं फलम् ।।
17 । इत्येवमादिकुशलं पुर्व्वमुक्तं सुहर्षिभिः ।
तदेवात्र कुरुक्षेत्रे लभन्तु वहवो ज (नाः) ।।
18 । यानि तीर्थसहस्राणां कुरुक्षेत्रे फलानि च ।
अत्र निश्शेषतस्ता(नि)सन्तु सन्तिहितानी च ।।
19 । अर्द्धयोजनमायाममस्य तीर्थस्य कीर्त्ति (तम्) ।
यं यं प्रदेशमागम्य स महापापपावनः ।।
20 । ये शरीरपरित्यागं कुर्व्वन्ति स्तवनं च ये ।
ये तृष्णया च सेवन्ते पिबन्ति च समाहिताः ।।
21 । येषामग्निमखादीनां दानानां नकसम्पदाम् ।
फलानि यान्यशेषाणि प्राप्यन्तां तानि ते जनाः ।।
22 । पापिष्ठाखिलपुरुषा मुच्यन्त्यां वहुपापतः ।
किं पुनर्धर्म्मनिरता महातीर्थनिषेवनात् ।।

17

The Rise of Sukhodaya

The origin of the Thai Kingdom of Sukhodaya is involved in obscurity. Some light is thrown on this by an inscription found at Sukhodaya. The relevant passage is, however, very mutilated and does not make any complete sense. Coedés,[1] who first brought out its historical importance, has drawn some conclusions which are now generally accepted. It appears that a Kambuja General was sent against two Thai chiefs named Phō Khun Bāng Klāng Thao and Phō Khun Phā Muang, chief of Muang Rāt. The former had taken possession of Sajjanālaya and the latter with his army came to his aid. The Kambuja army which occupied Sukhodaya, or at least barred access to it, was defeated and the victorious Thai Chief Phō Khun Phā Muang then entered Sukhodaya and entrusted its government to Phō Khun Bāng Klāng Thao. The latter, however, we are told, could not enter the city out of respect (or fear, it is not clear which) for his ally. So the former removed his army, and when Bāng Klāng Thao entered Sukhodaya, formally consecrated him to the throne of Sukhodaya under the name of Śrī Indrapatīndraditya with the title Kamraten Añ Phā Muang, which had been conferred on him by the king of Kambuja. The passage of the inscription which relates this, although somewhat cryptic, seems to convey that Phō Khun Phā Muang, who had married the daughter of the king of Kambuja, was a vassal chief and had received from him formal investiture as such. By his defeat of the "audacious Khom" *i.e.*, the Kambuja general sent to oppose him and triumphal entry into Sukhodaya, Phā Muang regarded himself as the suzerain, and conferred, in his turn, on his ally, the position and titles he had himself received from the suzerain king of Kambuja. Thus we may trace in this incident the virtual liberation of North Siam from the yoke of Kambuja. But the old links were not altogether broken, for the old Kumbuja titles were borne by the new king and his successors.

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[1] *JA*, II Serie, Tome 15 (1920), pp. 233 ff; *JSS*, XIV, pp. 1 ff.

Interest naturally centres around Phō Khun Phā Muang who was thus instrumental in liberating Siam from Kambuja suzerainty. Coedés, who brought out the above facts, has not, unfortunately, pursued this question any further; but there are certain points of great interest which merit a fuller discussion. According to the inscription,[2] Phā Muang had married the daughter of the King of Kambuja, and obtained the sacred sword, the honorific title named Śri Indrapatīndrāditya and a formal investiture from him. All these point to his identity with king Srīndravarman of Kambuja, who had married the daughter of king Jayavarman VIII of Kambuja. Now Cheu Ta-Kuan, who accompanied the Chinese embassy to the court of Śrīndravarman in 1296 A.D. gives us the following account of this king: "The new king is the son-in-law of the old. He had adopted a military career. His father-in-law loved his daughter who stole the golden sword (of the king) and took it to her husband. The son, thus deprived of succession, plotted to raise an army. The new king came to know of

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[1] The text of the Inscription may be literally translated as follows : "Formerly the divine king of Sri Sodharapura had given to Pho Khun Pha Muang his daughter named Nang Sikharamahadevi, the sacred sword jayasri and an honorific title like his own. Pho Khun Bang Klang Thao received the name Sri Indrapatindraditya because Pho Khun Pha Muang took his own name for giving it in his turn, to his friend." Coedes has pointed out that in modern Siamese and Cambodian documents Sri Sodharapura appears as an element in the literary designation of the capital of Cambodia (*BEFEO*, XIII, VI p. 9; *Ibid.*, XVIII, 9, p. 24). Coedes formerly restored the name as Siridhara or Siri Sundara (*Ibid.*). But he now (*JA*, 1920, p. 241) proposes to take it as a corruption of Yasodharapura, the name of the old Kambuja capital, because he finds in a modern Cambodian state paper the name of the capital written as "*Kambujadhipati Sri Yasodhara brah Mahanagara Indraprastha Rashtha rajadhani.*"

it, cut off the fingers of his feet and shut him up in a dark chamber."[1] The account of Cheu Ta-Kuan is partly corroborated by a Kambuja inscription which says that Jayavarman VIII abdicated the throne in favour of his son-in-law.[2] According to the custom followed in Kambuja the prince who was consecrated as heir-apparent with the title Śrī Indrapati or Indrāditya would be called Śrīndravarman on accession to the throne.[3] Thus we have a remarkable coincidence, both in name and the three special circumstances (marriage of the king's daughter and the possession of the sword, indicating investiture as heir-apparent) between the Kambuja king Śrīndravarman and the chief Phā Muang. Besides, the fact that this chief, although son-in-law of the Kambuja king, was opposed by an "audacious Kambuja general" would be explained by the rivalry between Śrīndravarman of Kambuja and his brother-in-law referred to by Cheu Ta-Kuan. Such coincidences cannot be dismissed as casual and we are justified in presuming the identity of the two. In that case we must hold that prince Śrīndravarman was invested as regent or Viceroy over Siam during the regin of his father-in-law, and in the struggle for succession with his brother-in-law, which took place during the reign of the old king, he had the assistance of the Thai chief whose services he rewarded by his appointment as vassal, chief of Sukhodaya, nominally under his suzerainty. It was probably not long before the chief of Sukhodaya became too powerful and challenged the authority of Kambuja, and the 'recent wars with the Siamese which devastated Angkor region' as reported by Cheu Ta-Kuan might refer to the civil war or to the later stages of this war for liberation. In any case we are justified in presuming that the rise of Sukhodaya as an independent kingdom was probably due to the civil war between Śrīndravarman, the son-in-law of the king Kambuja, and his brother-in-law.

If this presumption be accepted we have to refer the accesssion of Indrāditya to the reign of Jayavarman VIII who ascended the throne in 1243 A.D. or somewhat later. This is in conflict with the current view that Indrāditya founded the kingdom of Sukhodaya in 1218. A.D. This view, however, rests upon a highly speculative interpretation of a passage in the Nagara Jum Ins. by P. Petithuguenin.[1] He translates ll. 19-21 of the Inscription as follows :

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[1] *BEFO*, Vol. II, p. 176.

[2] Mangalārtha Temple Inscription V. XLI, *BEFEO*, Vol. XXV, pp. 393 ff.

[3] *BEFEO*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 100.

> "The year in which Phrayā Mahā Dharmarāja constructed (or commenced) the Phra Dhātu, the age of men was lowered below 100 years. That was 139 years ago, and the year of the reduction is really the year of Hare."

He then observes :

> "If this phrase has any sense it appears to convey that 139 years before 1279 *i.e.*, in Śaka 1140(=1218 A.D.), which was really a year of Hare,[2] under a king named Phrayā Mahā Dharmarāja an important social revolution took place, which could well be, as already remarked by Lajonquiere, the date of accession of the first king of Sukhodaya. It is not then Śrī Sūrya Phrah Mahā Dharmarājādhirāja who reigned from Śaka 1276 to 1298, but one of his predecessors more than a century ago, who is the Phrah or Bā Thammarat of the tradition and who could not be any other than Indrāditya."

It is needless to point out that the above theory about the accession of Indrāditya in 1218 A.D. rests on a very weak basis and cannot be taken seriously. The earliest definite date in the chronology of Sukhodaya is furnished by the inscription of Rama Khamheng,[3] according to which this king, who was the third son of Indrāditya, and the third king of the dynasty, was on the throne between 1283 and 1292. A.D. This would place the accession of Indrāditya some time about the middle of the third century A.D. Now the Pali chronicle *Jinakālamālini* places the accession of Phra Ruang the founder of the dynasty in 1256. A.D Prince Damrong has suggested the identification of Phra Ruang and Indrāditya and Coedès also favours the same view.[4] We may, therefore, provisionally, accept 1256 A.D. as the date of accession of Indrāditya, though we shall not be justified in regarding it as an established fact.

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[1] *BEFEO*, Vol. XVI, No. 3, p. 18.

[2] This is not correct. *ibid.*, p. 25.

[3] *JSS*, Vol. VI, Part I.

[4] *BEFEO*, Vol. XVII, pp. 43-44.

If we accept this date for Indraditya, and identify the chief Phā Muang with the future king of Kambuja named Indravarman we have to reconstruct the political history of the period somewhat differently than is done at present. It would appear that either the struggle referred to in the Sukhodaya Inscription must have taken place long after the accession of Indrāditya or that the civil war in Kambuja between the son and son-in-law of Jayavarman VIII must have commenced at an early part of the reign of that king. Both these views being opposed to the current ideas on the subject, they may be examined a little more closely.

It is generally assumed that Indrāditya began his political career as chief of Sukhodaya. This, however, is not borne out by any positive evidence. On the other hand the Sukhodaya Inscription referred to above shows that he was already the chief of the principality of Sajjanālaya when he joined Phā Muang. Instances are not wanting when a petty chief, who later becomes ruler of an important kingdom, dates his accession from his first coming to power. We may thus regard 1256 A.D. (or any other date that may be accepted on more positive evidence) as the date when Indrāditya first became a ruling chief and not necessarily that of his conquest of Sukhodaya.

The perusal of the first part of Rama Khamheng's Inscription leaves the impression that Sukhodaya was not a very important kingdom during the time of his father and elder brother who preceded him, and its greatness and importance really date from his time. We cannot rule out altogether the possibility that Indrapatindrāditya who was formally consecrated at Sukhodaya by the son-in-law of the Kambuja king after the defeat of the Kambuja general was no other than Rama Khamheng himself, the name Indrapatīndrāditya being composed of the name of his benefactor (Indrabhūpati) and his own grandfather Indrāditya.[1] This is undoubtedly a mere hypothesis for the present, but we cannot discard it simply because it does not tally with the current views on the subject which are, however, not based on any solid ground.

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[1] The Mangalārtha Temple Inscription refers to Śrindravarman as Srindra-bhupati (V, XVLI) and Srindrabhupa (XL VIII).

Rama Khamheng claims in his Inscription to have made extensive conquests, and occupied territories belonging to Kambuja. Cheu Ta-Kuan, writing of Kambuja in 1296 A.D. or 1297 refers to the devastation of the country in the recent wars with Siam. The Sukhodaya Inscription refers to a fight between Kambuja General and the son-in-law of the Kambuja king allied with a Thai Chief of Siam. All these may refer to the different episodes in the struggle between the son and son-in-law of the Kambuja king Jayavarman VIII. This civil war then must have taken place sometime before the end of the reign of this king in 1295 or 1296 A.D. This seems to follow from the statement in the Mangalārtha Temple Inscription that Jayavarman VIII abdicated in favour of his son-in-law. But although this may be justly regarded as a very weak argument against the obvious inference from Cheu Ta-Kuan's statement, quoted above, it is to be noted that we cannot reject the idea of a civil war taking place long before the end of Jayavarman's reign without upsetting some of the generally accepted views of historical events. For, apart from all speculative theories on the identification of Phā Muang, the broad fact remains that he, a son-in-law of the ruling king of Kambuja, fought with a Kambuja General near Sukhodaya. Although this cannot be precisely dated it could hardly have taken place in 1295 or 1296 A.D. when king Rama Khamheng must have, according to the generally accepted view based on Sukhodaya Inscription, thoroughly established his power over Sukhodaya and an extensive region round it, and we can hardly think of a Kambuja prince defeating a Kambuja General and consecrating an allied chief as ruler over Sukhodaya.[1] On the other hand it is difficult to explain away the incident by referring it to the reign of any other king of Kambuja. For as we have seen above there are no reasonable grounds to place the foundation of Sukhodaya by Indrāditya before 1243 A.D. when Jayavarman VIII ascended the throne, and the fight between the Kambuja general and the son-in-law of Kambuja king, referred to in the Sukhodaya Inscription, can only refer to a civil war in his reign.

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[1] Of course we can explain this on the basis of the theory advanced in this paper if we identify Bāng Klāng Thao with Ram Khamheng.

In case our theory is right that this struggle was caused by the rivalry between Śrīndravarman and his brother-in-law over the succession to the throne, we can hardly place it long before 1275 A.D., and possibly the date is later. For in the Bantei Srei Inscription of Śrīndravarman the earth is congratulated on its deliverance, by a young king, from the thorns and brambles which had grown up during the reign of an old king[1]. This shows that Śrīndravarman was a young man when he ascended the throne in 1295 or 1296 A.D. It is hardly likely therefore, that he would have been old enough to contest the throne long before *c.* 1275 A.D.

The reference to the thorns and brambles during the reign of the old king Jayavarman VIII probably reflects the true condition of things, and in the light of what has been suggested above we may provisionally reconstruct the history of the period as follows :

> Jayavarman VIII, in his old age, nominated Śrīndravarman, his son-in-law, as his successor and appointed him as governor over western provinces including Siam. His son thereupon took up arms to defend his right. Thus ensued a civil war in course of which battles were fought in Siam. The conquest of the Thai Kingdom of Nan Chao by Kublai Khan led to a movement of the warlike Thais towards the south, and Śrīndravarman enlisted their support by offering large rewards and concessions. In particular, eh won over a Thai Chief (either Indrāditya or Rama Khamheng) by consecrating him as king of Sukhodaya and offering him virtual independence and suzerainty over Siam. With their help he defeated his brother-in-law and imprisoned him, but did not ascend the throne till some years later when the old king abdicated in his favour. The palace-intrigues and the general insecurity of the times are indicated by the fact that Śrīndravarman, even after he became king, seldom ventured to come out in public and was clad, on those rare occasions, by an iron coat of mail, to guard himself from assassins. The civil war led to

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[1] *BEFEO,* Vol. XXV, p. 395.

political troubles at home and abroad, but its most important effect was the foundation of a strong Thai kingdom in Siam with its capital at Sukhodaya.

18

Buddhism in South East Asia

According to a tradition preserved in the Ceylonese Chronicles. Buddhism was preached in Suvarṇabhumi by the missionaries of Aśoka. Though the location of Suvarṇabhumi is uncertain, some having identified it with Burma, others with Siam (Thailand), there is no doubt that it refers to some part of Indo-China. But the authenticity of the tradition itself is open to question, as no early and reliable evidence has been obtained so far in support of it. Nor can we accept the view that the first two disciples of the Buddha named Trapusha and Bhallika, who built a sanctuary over his relics in their native land, belonged to Burma, for the Utkala country, which is referred to in the canonical texts as their native land, is certainly to be identified with Orissa.

There is, however, no doubt that Buddhism obtained a definite footing in South East Asia during the early centuries of the Christian era. This is proved by the discovery of the images of Buddha of the Amarāvatī style in Thailand (Siam), Annam (Champā), Sumatra, Java and Celebes. The representation of the Buddha by a symbol, such as *dharmachakra* (Wheel of Law), rather than a human figure, in some of the sculptures in Thailand, also support the introduction of Buddhism in this region at an early date.

1. Thailand

The early sculptures discovered in Thailand prove conclusively that Buddhism was introduced in this region at the beginning of the Christian era. A Wheel of Law, associated with figures of crouching deer, was dug up at Pra Pathom. Another early site, Pong Tuk, has yielded bronze Buddha images of the Amarāvatī style, which may be dated in the second century A.D. Buddhist images of the Gupta style, both of earlier and later type, have also been discovered. As the inscriptions, engraved on the latter, may be referred to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., those of the earlier type probably belong to the fourth century A.D.

From this early period we may trace the uninterrupted progress of *Hīnayāna* Buddhism in this country. The Thai conquest of the land in the thirteenth century A.D. gave a great impetus to this religion. The Thai rulers were ardent followers of *Hīnayāna* Buddhism. We learn from the inscription of Ram Kamheng, that this famous king was an ardent follower of *Hīnayāna* Buddhism and decorated his capital Sukhodaya with temples, monasteries and images of Buddha at the close of the thirteenth century A.D. The *Hīnayāna* Buddhism of the Thais was sustained and influenced by Burma and the island of Ceylon. The intercourse between Mons of Lower Burma and Thailand were of long standing. A Thai king sent a messenger to Ceylon in 1361 A.D. who brought back with him a senior monk who reformed the religion. The *Hīnayāna* Buddhism with its Pāli canon flourishes even now in Thailand, Burma and Ceylon, and it is not therefore necessary to discuss its history in great detail.

2. Cambodia

Buddhism made its influence felt in Cambodia as early as the fifth century A.D. for king Jayavarman of Fu-nan, who ruled towards the close of that century, sent an embassy to China in 503 A.D, with presents including an image of Buddha. An inscription of his son Rudravarman begins with an invocation to Buddha. From this time onward the prevalence of Buddhism is proved by inscriptions. But it had a setback in the 7th century, and the epigraphic records indicate that Śaivism, not Buddhism, was the dominant religion of Cambodia. It is curious, in view of the present state of things, that very few kings of Cambodia, of whom we possess any epigraphic record, were followers of Buddhism. Sūryvarman I (11th century A.D.) was a Buddhist, for he had the posthumous title *Nirvāṇa-pada.* But his inscription on a temple at prah Khan[1] begins with an invocation to Śiva in the first verse, and to the Buddha in the second. Several inscriptions on the temple known as Prasat Ta Keo,[2] in honour of Yogīsvara Paṇḍita, the *guru* of king Suryavarman, begin with invocations to Śiva and Vishnu, and refer to donations made to these gods. Jayavarman VII, perhaps the greatest king of Kambuja, was a Buddhist and his Ta Prohm Inscription, dated 1186 A.D. gives a detailed list of his magnificent donations to this temple.[3] The merit of these pious works was to accrue to the king's mother so that she might obtain the state of Buddha.[4] In addition to the kings mentioned above, high dignitaries like Kavīndrārimathana and Kīrtipaṇḍita, both belonging to the tenth century A.D., were ardent Buddhists, and the latter claimed to have lighted again the torch of the true Law which the sins of the world had extinguished. The form of Buddhism referred to is clearly *Mahāyāna*.

But if we take the epigraphic data as a whole, there remains no doubt that Buddhism was never a dominant religion in Kambuja till the time of Jayavarman VII. But even the patronage of this great emperor did not establish Buddhism as a state religion, as it is now. It is interesting to note that during the reign of king Śrīndravarmadeva, a later king, we find an inscription[5] dated 1308 A.D. written in Pāli and referring to *Hīnayāna* form of Buddhism. The next two kings, Śrīndrajayavarman and Jayavarma-Paramêsvara were followers respectively of Vishṇu and Śiva.

The state of religion in Cambodia is described by Cheu Ta-kuan who visited the country in 1296 A.D. It appears that *Hīnayāna* Buddhism was in a flourishing state at this time. Yet the older inscriptions mostly refer to *Mahāyāna* doctrine. Taking everything into consideration, we are forced to the conclusion that it was the influence of Thailand (Siam) that gradually introduced a great change in the religion of Kambuja. On the whole Brahmanical religion, specially Śaivism, was dominant in Kambuja, though *Mahāyāna* Buddhism was also a powerful sect, up to the end of the thirteenth century A.D. But the political dominance of the Thais (of Siam) in Cambodia established the supremacy of *Hinayāna* Buddhism which is now the only religion of the people.

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[1] R.C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, p. 360.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 351 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 459 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 474, V. 14·1.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 533.

3. Champa

The ancient Hindu colony of Champā corresponds, roughly, to the southern part of Annam. The early introduction of Buddhism in this region is indicated by an image of Buddha of the Amarāvatī style at Dong-Duong. But there is no epigraphic reference to Buddhism before the 9th century A.D.[1] The Bakul Stelae Inscription,[2] dated 829 A.D., refers to the construction of two temples and two monasteries for Jina and Śaṅkara. Jina may denote either the Buddha or Mahāvīra, but as there is no evidence for the existence of Jainism in South East Asia, *Jina* may be taken to denote Buddha. The long inscription on the four faces of a stelae found at Dong-Duong[3] records the installation of an image of Buddha in 875 A.D., and the foundation of a Buddhist temple and a monastery by the Buddhist king Indravarman. The remains of a Buddhist temple at this place, far greater in dimensions than the largest Brahmanical temple in Champā, prove that Dong-Duong (ancient Amarāvatī) in the province of Quang Nam was an important strong hold of Buddhism in Champā.

Many later kings patronised Buddhism, and monasteries and temples were built in different parts of the kingdom. Many Buddhist images have also been found in different parts of Champā.

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[1] Many scholars find traces of Buddhism in Vocanh inscription, but I do not find anything definitely Buddhist in it. For the inscription *cf.* R.C. Majumdar, *Champa*, Book III, p. 1. Coedes maintains that it is Buddhist, *Less Etats Hindouises d'Indo-Chine et d' Indonesie* (1948), p. 74.

[2] *Champa*, Bk. III, p. 65.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

I-tsing refers to the prevalence of Buddhism in Champā and remarks that the "Buddhists generally belong to the *Āryasammitīyanikāya* and there are also a few followers of the *Sarvāstivādanikāya*." Thus, *Hinayāna* prevailed at the end of the seventh century A.D. But the inscriptions and images leave no doubt that the *Mahāyāna* soon occupied the dominant position in Champā. Particular reference may be made to An-Thai Stelae Inscription[1] dated 824 Saka (902 A.D.) which records the erection of a statue of Lokanātha by *sthavira* Nāgapushpa, the abbot of the monastery of Pramudita-Lokeśvara, and refers to Vajradhātu, Padmadhātu and Chakradhātu, Amitābha and Vairochana.

It is interesting to note that Buddhist and Śaiva temples and monasteries were often erected side by side, by the same donor, that the epithet Damareśvara (lord of the *Bhutas*), originally belonging to Śiva, was applied to Buddha, and that figures of Śiva decorated the Buddhist temples of Dong-Duong.

4. Malay Peninsula

The well-known Buddhist formula '*ye dharmā hetuprabhavā*, etc., followed by another verse beginning with *Ajñānāch chhīyate karma*, is engraved on a slab of stone found amid the ruins of an ancient brick building at Keddah. The second verse alone is engraved on a piece of stone, probably a part of an old shrine, in the northern part of province Wellesley. Both these inscriptions have been referred to the fourth or fifth century A.D.[2] Three Sanskrit verses are inscribed on a clay tablet found near Keddah. They inculcate *Mahāyāna* philosophical doctrines of *Mādhyamika* school, and have been traced to a text entitled *Sāgaramati-paripṛcchā*, which is known only from a Chinese translation.[3]

The inscription mentioned above also prove that Buddhist temples, both of brick and stone, were built in Wellesley Province and Keddah in the fourth or fifth century A.D. The great

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[2] R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarnadvipa*, Part I, pp. 88ff.

[3] *JGIS*. VIII, p. 2.

stūpa of Nakhon Śrī Dhammarāt and a number of temples surrounding it indicate the existence of a flourishing Buddhist colony in this region. A number of terracotta votive tablets found in neighbouring caves also show that a large number of Buddhist monks resided therein.

5. Indonesia

Buddhism did not obtain a secure footing in Indonesia[1] till after the fourth century A.D. At the time when Fa-hien visited Java there was very little trace of Buddhism in that island. But Gunavarman, who belonged to the royal family of Kipin (Kāshmir or Afghānistan) but had taken to religion, preached Buddhism in Java early in the fifth century A.D., and it soon took deep root in the soil. As Gunavarman translated a text of the Dharmagupta sect, he must have belonged to the *Mūlasarvāsūvada* school, and it was evidently due to his influence that this sect became dominant in Java and the neighbouring islands.

The neighbouring island of Bali also came under the influence of Buddhism about the same time. For according to the *History of the Liang Dynasty* 502-556 A.D., the earliest Chinese historical annals that give an account of this island, the king of Bali claimed that the wife of Suddhodana was a daughter of his country.

By the seventh century A.D. Buddhism flourished all over Indonesia, and Śrī-Vijaya in Sumatra became a stronghold of this religion. We possess an inscription, dated Saka 606 (684 A.D.) of a Buddhist king of this country named Jayanāsā. There was a regular trade and maritime intercourse between Śrī-Vijaya and India. On his way to India the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing halted at Śrī-Vijaya for six months, and he again visited the place, after his return to China, in order to copy and translate the voluminous Buddhist texts which he had brought with him from India.

It is evident from I-tsing's statement that although *Hīnayāna* was dominant in these regions there were in Śrī-Vijaya a few who followed the *Mahāyāna* form of Buddhism. This is also proved by the inscription of Jayanāśā referred to above. It not only contains definite reference to the *Mahāyāna* doctrine, but the use of the word *vajra-śarīra* further indicates that this *Mahāyāna* was of the *Tāntrik* form known as *Vajrayāna*, *Mantrayāna* or *Tantrayāna*.

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[1] For the facts mentioned here cf. *Suvarnadvipa, part* II.

Indonesia was visited by eminent Buddhist scholars from India such as Dharmapāla, a Professor of Nālandā in the seventh century A.D., and Vajrabodhi, a south Indian monk. The latter and his disciple Amoghavajra, who accompanied him, were teachers of Tāntrik cult and are credited with its introduction to China. Both of them halted at Śrī-Vijaya for five months on their way from Ceylon to China, early in the eighth century A.D.

Towards the close of this century the *Mahāyāna* cult acquired great predominance owing to the patronage of the Śailendras who ruled over the greater part of Indonesia. Two inscriptions, dated 778 and 782 A.D., refer to the construction of a temple of Tārā at Kalasan, and setting up of an image of Mañjuśrī at Kelurak by the Śailendra emperors. The latter was inspired by thier *guru* Kumāraghosha, an inhabitant of Gauḍa. The Śailendra emperors were in close touch with the Pala emperor Devapāla of Bengal, and the Chola emperor Rājarāja, both of whom endowed the monasteries built by the Śailendras, respectively at Nālandā and Nagapatinam.

The *Mahāyāna* form of Buddhism has left permanent memorials in Java in the famous *stūpa* of Barabuḍur and a number of other magnificent temples erected during the Śailendra rule. The Javanese literature and the Buddhist images found in Java clearly indicate that all the essential features of *Mahāyāna*, even of its last phases, were fully developed in that island. As in India, a number of Hindu gods were adopted in the Buddhist pantheon, though they were relegated to an inferior position. New divinities were introduced, some of which, like Trailokyavijaya, Hevajra, Bhairava and Heruka, were of monstrous or terrifying appearance. The *Tantrayana*, including *Kāla-Chakraatantra*, prevailed both in Java and Sumatra. The famous king Kṛtanagara of Java was a devout follower of the *Tantrayana* or *Vajrāyāna*, and his drinking bout is approved in a Javanese historical text on the ground that he scrupulously followed the prescriptions of religion. King Adityvaraman of Malayu in Sumatra, who was ruling as a vassal of Kritanagara in 1286 A.D., seems to have been a follower of the Bhairava cult.

As in India, there was a gradual rapprochement between *Māhāyāna* and Brahmanical religion. This was more clearly indicated in Indonesia by the fact that gradually Śiva, Vishṅu and Buddha were regarded as identical and so were their Śaktis. A definite Śiva-Buddha cult existed in Java, and in modern Balinese theology Buddha is regarded as a younger brother of Śiva.

There are two Buddhist texts in Java which give an interesting insight into the developed form of *Mahāyāna*. The first, *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan* is a free Javanese version of a Śanskrit original, interspersed with a number of original Sanskrit verses. It was probably composed in the Śailendra period (8th century A.D.), but was modified, about a century or two later, in a manner which has been regarded as a Hinduised or Śaiva version of a Buddhist original. It contains an exposition of the leading principles of *Mahāyāna* and gives an account of its theology according to the *Yogāchāra* system. It brings the Hindu Trinity in organic relation with the Buddhist pantheon. The picture of *Mahāyāna* in Java which it unfolds shows a close resemblance with, but also minor differences from, the form of religion current in India.

The second text *Kamahāyānan Mantranaya* contains forty-one Sanskrit verses with Javanese commentaries. It contains an exposition of the *Tantrayāna* or *Vajrayāna* both in its theoretical and practical aspects. The five kinds of sensual enjoyments (*pañcha-ma-kāra*) are clearly prescribed, and the devotee is forbidden to communicate the secrets of *vajra*, *ghaṇṭā* and *mudrā* to those who do not belong to the *Maṇḍala*.

19

Sanskrit in South-East Asia

There is abundant positive evidence to show that Sanskrit was seriously studied in the Malay Peninsula, Siam or Thailand, Kambuja or Cambodia, Laos and Champā, now called Vietnam, in Indo-China as well as in the islands of Java, Sumatra, Bali and Borneo, and a knowledge of Sanskrit spread over a very wide area in many other islands of Indonesia.

The evidence may be classified as follows :

I. Original Sanskrit texts;
II. Sanskrit inscriptions;
III. The study of sanskrit literary texts and inscriptions composed in local dialects, showing an intimate acquaintance with different branches of Sanskrit literature and literary texts in local dialects based on themes furnished by the Sanskrit Epics and other Sanskrit books of different categories; and
IV. Sanskrit loan-words used in inscriptions and texts written in various local dialects.

I shall now discuss the evidences of these different categories, separately for Indo-China and Indonesia.

I. Original Sanskrit Texts

A text, called the *Purāṇārtha* is referred to in the Myson Stelae Inscription of Jaya Harivarman, king of Champā, dated Śaka 1079. It says that the identity of king Śivānandana with

Uroja is confirmed by the *Purāṇārtha* "which is looked upon as a mine (lit. mountain) of useful information in this world." The Dong Duong Stelae inscription of Indravarman II, dated Śaka 797, describes how Uroja, apparently the first king of Champā, was sent to the earth by Śiva himself. Evidently the *Purāṇārtha* was a text of Purāṇa type written in Champā.

Similarly we know from the inscriptions in Indo-China, notably in Cambodia, that there were quite a large number of Sanskrit texts also in this region. Apart from well-known works to be mentioned later, scholars have been able to identify some texts bearing slightly, different names. Reference is, for example, made to the *Parameśvara* in Śaivite contexts in several inscriptions in Cambodia and it has been identified with the *Pārameśvarāgāma* which the Liṅgāyats mention as one of the fundamental texts on which the founder of the sect, Vāsava of the 12th century, relied. The text was probably composed in the 8th century.

The four *Śāstras*, *Vinaśikha Nayottara*, *Saṁmoha* and *Śiraścheda* are mentioned in a long inscription as the basis of the cult of Devarāja founded during the reign of Jayavarman who established an independent kingdom in Kambuja after it was under foreign rule for a long time. Jayavarman invited a Brāhmaṇa named Hiraṇyadāma, versed in magic, in order to perform some Tantric rites so that Kambujadeśa might no longer be dependent on Java and have a paramount ruler of its own. This Brāhmaṇa performed the Tantrik rites and instituted the cult of Devarāja which continued to be the state religion for at least 250 years of which an account is given in the inscription composed in good Sanskrit containing 130 verses. The texts, mentioned above, which formed the basis of this cult have been identified by Dr P.C. Bagchi. According to him "the *Nayottara* was probably the same as the *Naya*-and *Uttara-sūtras* which form a part of *Niśvāsatattvasaṁhitā*, now preserved in a manuscript of the 8th century A.D., and probably composed in the 6th-7th century A.D. The *Siraścheda* was in all probability the same as the original *Jayadratha-yāmala* and the *Vināśika* seems to have been a supplement to it. The original *Saṁmoha*, on which the later Tantras of that name were based, still remains to be discovered. All these texts have a pronounced Śāivite Tantrik character.

II. Sanskrit Inscriptions

By far the best evidence of the high degree of Sanskrit scholarship in Indo-China is furnished by the large number of Sanskrit inscriptions which have survived the ravages of time.

1. A Sanskrit inscription of the fourth century A.D. has been found at Mung Si Tep near Pechaburi in Siam along with Śaiva and Vaishṇava images.
2. A large number of Sanskrit inscriptions belonging to 4th or 5th century A.D. have been discovered in different parts of Malay Peninsula. Two of these deserve special mention. One of these, inscribed on a clay tablet, contains three Sanskrit stanzas, probably part a *Sūtra* of the *Mādhyamika* school of *Mahāyāna*. Another refers to the *Mahānāvika* (Captain) Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of Raktamrittika (six miles south-west of Murshidabad in Bengal).
3. A very interesting inscription has been found at Laos describing in verse the sacred character of the holy place, Kurukshetra, set up in this region.
4. About 125 Sanskrit inscriptions have been found in the region now called Vietnam, but which bore the name of Champa, in ancient times, the oldest being from Vo canh, probably of the 3rd cent. A.D.
5. The largest number of inscriptions have been found in what is now called Cambodia but was known to the Hindus as Kambujadesa. In 1953 I published the text of about 200 Sanskrit inscriptions which were known till then. But many have been discovered since. The French scholar Coedés has published them all.

As the inscriptions Kambuja furnish the best evidence of the cultivation of Sanskrit language and literature in South East Asia, I now proceed to give a somewhat detailed account of them mainly from this point of view.

The oldest inscription discovered so far is that issued by Kulaprabhāvatī, the chief queen (*agramahishī*) of Jayavarman who ruled from about 475 to 514. A.D. It contains five Sanskrit verses of which four are in *Śārdūlavikriḍita* metre. The queen is thus described :

Śakrasyeva Śachī nṛipasya dayitā Svāheva saptārchishaḥ |
Rudrāṇīva Harasya lokaviditā sā Śrīrva Śrīpateḥ ||

The motive behind the pious foundation is thus described:

Jñātvā bhogam-ānitya-budbudasamaṁ sa .....
Ārāmaṁ sa-taṭākam-ālayayutaṁ ......

Anyone who reads these verses must be convinced that the poet who composed them was no novice and that the cultivation of Sanskrit in this region must have begun centuries ago. The latest Sanskrit inscription in Kambuja was issued by a king who had ascended the throne in 1327. A.D. It may thus be safely concluded that the study of Sanskrit in Kambuja had a long history of about 1000 years. It may also be easily imagined that the Sanskrit inscriptions numbering more than 200, known today, probably represent only a small part of the total number, as many must have been lost during this long period.

Generally speaking, the Sanskrit inscriptions of Kambuja are composed in beautiful and almost flawless *kāvya* style, and some of them run to great lengths. Four inscriptions of King Yaśovarman contain respectively 50, 75, 93, and 108 verses each and there are many containing more than twenty. An inscription of Rājendravarman contains 218 and another 298 verses, and each of these may be regarded as a small *kāvya*, much bigger than *Meghadūta*, the latter being much more than double its size and bigger than *Gītagovinda*.

Almost all the Sanskrit metres have been successfully used in these verses and they exhibit a thorough acquaintance with the most developed rules and conventions of Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody.

Attention may be drawn to the following characteristic features of the literary style noticed in these inscriptions :

1. Play on the different meanings of the same word. This is illustrated in three verses of the Han Chei Temple Inscription. In verse 8 *kara* is used in the sense of hand and rays of the sun. Similarly the words *kalā* and *rāgā* are used in the two following verses :

   Avāpya shoḍaśakalaśśaśāṅko yāti pūrṇatām |
   Asaṁkhyā api yo labdhvā na paryāpta kadāchana || 15
   Rāgān dadhāti bhūpānāṇchuḍā-ratna-marīchayaḥ |
   Yasya pāda-nakheshvevamanāgasi na chetasi || 18

2. There are numerous examples of *anuprāsa i.e.*, repetition of the same word or letter, is one and the same verse. The following would serve as examples :

(*a*) *Dharmapriyā dharmam imaṁ rakshatādharmārākshāsāt* |

(*b*) *Smarāridevyā vijitaṁ smarasya vikṛshṭachāpasya śarais sahāṅge* |
Bhasmīkṛte yā svakṛte rusheva smarābhidheyaṁ kurute smarārm ||

(*c*) *Bhūpendro bhūpatibhumi-bhūshano bhūribhānubhāḥ*

(*d*) *Guṇair agaṇitair gorair api Gaurīgurum giriṁ* |
Yo gaurvan nu gamayed gaṇanā kānyasadguṇe ||

3. Stereotyped expressions as used in Indian inscriptions :

(*a*) *Āsid āsindhubhūpāla-maulilālitaśāsanaḥ*

(*b*) *Dvishadvidhvamsino yasya yāne valavimarddajaṁ rajo jitvārokkatejāmsi*

4. Use of long compounds :

(*a*) *Śribharttāśankhachakrāsiśaravasumatīśaktichāpāṅkapāṇir*

(*b*) *Vanyadvipendrāhatsindhurasthavīrendrachāmpādhiparāja-siṁhaḥ*

Coedés has drawn attention to the fact that the constant use of very long compounds, *atyukti* or exaggeration and *anuprāsa* are, according to Sanskrit rhetoricians, the marks of the *Gauḍi rītī* or the style of composition in Gauḍadesa (Bengal), and he thinks that the Vat Thipedi Inscription of King Isāna-varman II, dated 832 (Śaka), which shows all these characteristics, was probably composed by one who was trained in Gauḍa. This view, if accepted, would prove a very close and continued intercourse between India and Indo-China. This is also proved, in the opinion of Coedés, by the presence of the Box-headed and the so-called Nāgarī alphabets, used in Eastern India, in the Kambuja inscriptions at a time when the alphabets generally used were local forms developed from the early Brāhmī alphabets of India.

The inscriptions themselves thus offer the best and most direct evidence of the study and deep knowledge of Sanskrit in Indo-China. They also contain indirect evidence of the same to which a brief reference may be made under different categories.

The inscriptions of Kambuja contain frequent references to kings, officials and other individuals as highly proficient in different branches in literature. These include (1) four Vedas in general and specifically *Rig*, *Yaju*, *Sāma* and *Atharvaveda*, sometimes referred to as *Mantras*, *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūtras* of the Taittirīya School; (2) Six Vedāṅgas; (3) Six systems of philosophy in general and specifically, *Yoga*, *Vaiśeshika*, *Nyāya*, *Sāṅkhya*, and *Vedānta*, (4) Grammar, with special reference to Pāṇini and Patañjali, (5) Dharmasāstras, specifically Manu and Yājñavalkya, (6) Arthasāstra, (7) Astronomy, (8) Astrology (*Horāśāstra*), (9) Dhanurveda, (10) Gandharvaveda (Music), (11) Religious literature of the Buddhist, *Pāśupata* and *Pañcharātra* sects, Śaiva Tantras.

With reference to Grammar there are allusions to *prakṛiti*, *pratyaya*, *ādeśa*, *guṇa vṛiddhi* and *āgama*. It is said of Srīnivāsakavi, who had served under two kings that this "Brāhmaṇa had become in his illustrious country the most celebrated of those who knew the Veda" and he was "full of zeal for reciting the Veda" and "the master of the four Vedas." It is difficult to say whether this Brāhmaṇa was a fresh immigrant from India or a local Brāhmaṇa.

The longest Sanskrit inscription containing 298 verses engraved on a stele at Pre Rup, and dated Śaka 883 uses the following metres : *Śloka*, *Vaṁśasthā*, *Indravajrā*, *Upendrāvajrā*, *Upajāti*, *Vasantatilaka*, *Mālinī*, *Mandākrāntā*, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *Śragdharā*, and *Āryā*. Apart from allusion to Epic and Puranik legends and mythology there are references of *Atharvaveda*, *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, respectively, in verses 64,207, and 83 while Pāṇini is referred to in no less than six verses. No less than four verses (164,199,211,290) are distinct echoes of four verses of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, repeating sometimes the very sords used by poet Kālidāsa. A new *kāvya* named *Manohara* seems to be referred to in v. 221 and the *Yogāchāra* system is mentioned in v. 275. Other inscriptions refer to Pravarasena and Mayūra as the authors of *Setubandha* and *Sūryaśataka*, and to Guṇāḍhya as a writer in Prākrit with allusion to the legend about him contained in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Reference is also made to Vātsyāyana as the author of *Kāmasūtra* and Visālāksha as the author of a treatise on *nīti*. The medical treatise of Suśruta is also mentioned. An indirect reference is made to Pāṇini in the following verse in Phnom Sandak inscription of King Yasovarma, dated Śaka 817 :

Saddharmma-nirater-yasya padaṁ rājyena chakrire |
Upasargāḥ kriyāyoge te prāg dhātor-mmuner-iva ||

The two following verses in Prasat Komnap inscription of Yasovarman are quotations from *Manusmṛti* :

Āchāryyavad gṛhastho'pi mānanīyo bahuśrutaḥ |
Abhyāgataguṇānāncha parā vidyeti Mānavam |
Vittaṁ bandhurvvayaḥ karmma vidyā bhavati panchamī |
Etāni mānyasthānāni garīyo yad yaduttaram |

The following verse in the Loley Inscription of King Yasovarman contains a clever reference to *Manusaṁhitā* being the chief source of the Yājnavalkya (Yogīsvara):

Prajānuśāsano dharmmar-Yogīśvaraparāyaṇam |
Rājanyabandyacharano yo' bhūnmanurivāparaḥ ||

An Eastern Baray Inscription of Yaśovarman refers to the poet Bhāravi and probably also to Vasu (bandhu) (v. 31). Verse 69 refers, besides Guṇāḍhya and Viśālāksha mentioned above, to Śūra having triumphed over a rival named Bhīmaka and perhaps also to Jina as the author of one of the Pūrvas named Kalyāṇa. If the latter supposition, on the authority of Barth, is accepted, this would be the only reference to the prevalence of Jainism outside India.

Reference to *chaturdaśaprakāra vidyā* in the Pre Rup Inscription (v. 135) probably signifies the four Vedas, the six Vedāṅgas, Purāṇa, Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya, and Dharma.

The two epics were very popular in Indo-China and exercised profound influence on its literature, art and other aspects of culture, including social virtues and moral ideas. The Veal Kantel (Cambodia) Inscription of the sixth century A.D. states that the Brāhmaṇa Somaśarman, the foremost among those who knew the *Sāmaveda*, whose wife, the sister of king Bhavavarman, was a second Arundhatī, built a temple of Tribhuvaneśvara. He presented (to the temple) a copy each of the texts of *Rāmāyana*, *Purāna* and the complete *Mahābhārata* and made arrangements for the daily recitation of them. Another inscription found at Prasat Prah That (Cambodia) and of the middle of the 7th century A.D. states that one Bhavajnāna deposited in a temple a manuscript of the *Sambhava Adhyāya* which forms a part of the Adiparva of the *Mahābhārata*. The popularity of the epics is further indicated by frequent and copious references in inscriptions to the episodes described in them and the profuse illustration of them in the numerous sculptures of the famous Angkor Vat and other temples. But the best evidence of the very great esteem in which the *Rāmāyaṇa* was held in Indo-China is furnished by the Tra Kieu Inscription of King Prakāsadharma (*c.* 653-87 A.D.) It records the foundation of a temple in honour of Vālmīki who is described as an incarnation of Vishnu.

The inscriptions also furnish a striking evidence of the spread of Sanskrit scholarship in Indo-China by references to the accomplishments of kings and ministers. Thus, we are told that the great conqueror and powerful Emperor Yasovarman (*c.* 889-900 A.D.) himself composed a commentary on Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya* and one of his ministers was an expert in *Horāśāstra*. The inscriptions in Champā (Vietnam) refer to a number of learned kings. King Bhadravarman, who reigned at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. is said to have been versed in the four Vedas. Jaya Indravarman I (*c.* 960-972 A.D.), we are told, was proficient in the well-known six systems of philosophy, as well as in Buddhist philosophy, Pāṇini's Grammar with *Kāśikā*, and the *Ākhyāna* and the *Uttarakalpa* of the Śaivas, King Śri Jaya Indravarman IV (1168-1180 A.D.) was versed in grammar, astrology, *Mahayana* philosophy and the *Dharmaśāstras*, notably the *Nāradīya* and the *Bhārgaviya*. The extent of literary activity may be judged from the fact that when a Chinese general invaded Champā and sacked the capital city in 605 A.D. he carried away 1350 Buddhist works.

We learn from the inscriptions that the princes received their early training from eminent religious preceptors (*āchāryas*) and there are many instances where princes and other members of the royal family themselves became high priests and *āchāryas*.

One of the reasons for the maintenance of a high standard of Sanskrit scholarship in Indo-China is the regular intercourse between scholars belonging to India and Indo-China. This is indicated by casual references of visits of high personages from India to Indo-China and *vice versa*. We know from Chinese records that the king of Cambodia sent an ambassador to India between 240-245 A.D. and he reached the mouth of the Ganga at the end of a year. A king of Champā, called Gangārāja, abdicated the throne and went to India in order to die on the banks of the Ganga. The inscriptions of Cambodia refer to number of learned Brāhmaṇas who came from India (*Ārya-deśa*) and settled in Indo-China, some of them having married royal princess. One of these, Brāhmaṇa Divākara Bhaṭṭa, is said to have been born on the bank of the river Kālindī sacred by its association with the boyhood of Kṛṣṇa. But by far the most important instance of this kind is furnished by that of Sivasoma, the grandson of a king, maternal uncle of another king, and the *guru* of a third king, Indravarman. An inscription of this king found at Prasat Kandal Dom contains the following verse about Śivasoma :

Yenādhitāni Śāstrāni Bhagavachahaṅkarāhvayāt |
Niśśeshasūrimurddhāllmālālidhāṅghripaṅkajāt ||

It means that Śivasoma learnt the Śāstras from Bhagavat Śaṅkara whose lotus feet were touched by the heads of all the sages. The French scholar Coedés, who edited this inscription, rightly conjectured that the reference is undoubtedly to the famous Śaṅkarāchārya of India and the word Bhagavat supports this conjecture. But the real importance of this inscription from Indian point of view was missed by him. For as I showed more than forty years ago, this inscription furnishes the only authoritative evidence of the date of Śaṅkarāchārya, so far known to us. As Indravarman ruled from 877 to 889 A.D., his *guru* Śivasoma may be assumed to have visited Śaṅkarāchārya about the middle of the ninth century A.D. It is not a little curious that the only authentic evidence for the date of Śaṅkarāchārya, which has been a matter of keen controversy for a long period, would be found in a Sanskrit inscription engraved thousands of miles away from India. Though the actual examples of such intercourse between the scholars of India and Indo-China are very few in number, this alone may satisfactorily explain the thoroughness of the literary religious and spiritual culture of India imbibed by the people of Indo-China.

III The Study of Sanskrit

The study of Sanskrit was probably as intense and as popular among the elite of Indonesia as those of Indo-China. But the local dialects in this region were sufficiently advanced to become the vehicle of literature much earlier and in a far greater degree than in Indo-China. As a consequence of this, while in both these regions, Sanskrit was the court-language and used in official records in the beginning, the number of Sanskrit inscriptions in Indonesia was much less and its place was taken by local dialects much earlier. But the influence of Sanskrit continued and is clearly evidenced by the extensive use of Sanskrit loan-words, rhetoric, prosody, and almost exclusive use of themes furnished by Sanskrit literature. This process led to the growth of the vast Indo-Javanese literature to which there is no parallel in Indo-China. We shall, therefore, study the Sanskrit studies in Indonesia under the following three heads :

1. Sanskrit Inscriptions
2. Sanskrit texts with or without a Javanese translation accompanying them.
3. Indo-Javanese or Old-Javanese literature.

I. Sanskrit Inscriptions

The following Sanskrit Inscriptions have been found in different islands of Indonesia :

(a) Seven Sanskrit inscriptions, dated about 400 A.D., have been found in the District of Kotei at Muara Kaman on the Mahakam river, an important sea-port of the island of Borneo, which has acquired today a great notoriety as land of head-hunters. These inscriptions are engraved on sacrificial stone pillars, seven in number, recording sacrifices performed and the gifts made to the Brāhmaṇas in the holy place named Vaprakśevara. Only a very few epigraphic records of Brahmanical sacrifice of such an early date are known in India. The name of the sacrifice is given in the following verse :

Śrī Mūlavarmmā Rājendro yashṭvā bahusuvarṇakam |
Tasya yajnasyayūpo 'yam dvijendrais—samprakalpitaḥ ||

This inscription proves beyond doubt that before, probably long before the fifth century A.D., Sanskrit was studied in the remote island of Borneo and was inhabited by a large number of Brāhmaṇas well versed in Sanskrit literature. The inscriptions are all composed in Sanskrit poetry, the metres used are *āryā* and *anuḷubh*, and the language is fairly correct. The verses are written in well-shaped alphabets of Indian, probably south

Indian, origin, and these verses are so arranged on the stone that each *pada* occupies a line, unlike Indian inscriptions where lines are arranged without any reference to the verses.

(b). Next in point of date are four rock inscriptions, all of which are situated within the province of Batavia in Western Java. The existence of a fifth inscription in the same area has been reported but it is not deciphered as yet.

Three of these inscriptions refer to King Pūrṇavarman, and the fourth also probably belongs to him. All of them are written in Sanskrit verses and two of them have a pair of footprints engraved beside them. The verse in one of these describes them as follows :

Vikrāntasyāvanipateḥ śrīmataḥ Pūrṇavarmaṇaḥ ।
Tārūmanagarendrasya Vishṇoriva padadvayam ॥

It is not necessary to refer in detail to other Sanskrit inscriptions in Java. Reference may be made to the long inscription found at Changal in Central Java dated Śaka year 654 (*śrutindriyarasa*) with all the astronomical details as in Indian inscriptions. The great king Sañjaya is described as follows :

Yasmiñchāsati sāgarormmi-raśanāṁśailastanim-medinīm
Śete rājapathe janona chakitaśchorair-na chānyair bhayaiḥ ॥

An inscription at Dinaya in East Java commemorates the establishment of an image of Agastya in the Śaka years 682. This inscription is written in characters which represent a local development of the south Indian Pallava script in which the earlier inscriptions in Java were written. The Pereng inscription (Śaka 785) begins with the following invocation :

Yata utpannaṁ viśvaṁ yatra cha jātaṁ vīlinamapi yatra ।
Tasmai namo bhagavate Śivāya śivakāraṇe tubhyaṁ ॥

It ends with the following prayer not usually met with in Indian inscriptions :

Jagatāṁ śivam-astu sadā go-dvija-rājnām tathā Śivastānāṁ ।
Atibhakti-dāna-dharmā bhavantu n-ārāti--rāge-rshyāḥ ॥

An inscription of a king of Sumatra found at Ligor in Malay Peninsula is dated in the Śaka year 697 and contains ten verses in six different metres, namely, *Śikhariṇī*, *Hariṇi*, *Pushpitāgrā*, *Āryā*, *Upendratovajtā* and *Sragdharā*.

A very important inscription dated Śaka 963 inscribed on a stone which was kept in the Indian Museum Calcutta for many years. It was composed in Sanskrit but written in Old-Javanese script and gives an account of Airlangga, one of the greatest monarchs of Java (1023-1042 A.D.) It consists of 36 verses in the following metres: *Āryā*, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *Vasantatilaka*, *Mañjubhāshīṇī*, *Mālini* and *Śragdharā*. It begins with an invocation to the Trinity with a pun on each divine name: Brahmā who is endowed with the three *guṇas* is *aguṇa* at the time of *pralaya*; Vishṇu, who is *agaṇita-vikrama* is known in the world as only *trivikrama*; Śiva who is called *sthāṇu* is really *atitvara*.

Another inscription dated Śaka year 1211 is engraved on the pedestal of an image of King Kṛtanagara in the form of Akshobhya. It contains 19 verses.

2. *Sanskrit Texts*

(a) We now come to the next category, namely original Sanskrit texts. The first is *Amaramālā* which contains synonyms of gods and other inanimate and animate objects as in the Amarakośa.

(b) S. Lévi has shown that a Sanskrit text in Bali, which is referred to as the chaturveda is no other than the *Nārāyaṇātha rvaśīrsopanishad*, particularly its four sections respectively known as the 'heads' (*Śiras*) of the *Ṛig*, *Yajus*, *Sāma* and *Atharva* Veda.

(c) Another text in Bali is known as *Veda-parikrama-sāra-saṁhitākiraṇa*. It gives an account of the daily worship and contains Sanskrit *mantras*.

(d) A regular series of texts containing *stotras* (hymns) addressed not only to principal deities, Śiva, Vishṇu, Buddha, Sūrya, Vāyu, Varuṇa and Yama, but also to various minor Brahmanical and Buddhist gods such as Umā, Gangā, Gaṇapati, Soma, Prithvī, Ravi, Vāsuki, Śrī and Sarasvatī. There are also *stotras* to the *Pitṛs* (*manes*), the syllable *Oṁ*, etc. The original Sanskrit texts of some of these have been traced and some of them might have been composed in Java or Bali. Some of these *stotras* are very beautiful and as S. Lévi remarks, "deserve to be classic even in India."

(e) *Buddhaveda*. This is the Buddhist counterpart of the Brahmanical Veda and contains a full account of the daily worship by the Buddhist priest. According to Lévi, "the verses and *mantras* are clearly derived from some Tantra, probably Śaiva Tantra".

(f) Scattered verses of moral or semi-religious purport. Reference may be made to a verse which is very well-known in India even today : *Oṁ Ahalyā Draupadī Sītā Dārā* (for *Tārā*) *Mandodharī tathā pañchakakyā smarennityaṁ.* The substitution of Sītā for Kuntī is worth notice. The following verse known as Daśaśīla admirably sums up the Hindu ideal of life :

Ānṛiśaṁśyaṁ kshamā satyamahiṁsā dama ārjavaṁ ।
Prītih prasādo mādhuryaṁ mārdavaṁ cha yamā daśā ॥

(g) *Bhuvanakośa*, also called *Jñāna-Siddhnta-Śās tra* and described as *parama-rahasya* or an esoteric text, consisting of Sanskrit verses followed by translation in Old-Javanese prose. It deals with cosmogony and metaphysics after the Purānas and Vedānta, and the twelve *tattvas* after the *Sāṁkhya* and *Yoga* philosophy. A great part of it is devoted to Tantric mysticism.

(h) *Bhuvana-saṁkshepa*. It is an Old-Javanese translation of a Sanskrit work with a number of the original Sanskrit *ślokas* interspersed in the text. It deals with the *Śūnyavāda* or the Doctrine of the Great Void and lays down that *moksha* or final emancipation consists in a negation of all things and ideas.

(i). *Tattva Sang Hyang Mahājnāna*, written in Sanskrit verses followed by Old-Javanese translation and commentary. Attention may be drawn to the following verse describing the sphere of religious activities of different types of people :

Apsu devo dvijātīnaṁ ṛishhīnāṁ divi devatā ।
Śilakhaṇḍan-cha lokānāṁ munīnam ātmā devatā ॥

(j). *Bṛihaspati-tattva*, an Old-Javanese work interspersed with Sanskrit *ślokas.* It enumerates the different religious sects and then discusses the consequences after death of the action in this life. It refers to the *hasti-nyāya*, the well-known parable of the blind men's description of the elephant to illustrate the incomplete nature of the different conceptions of God. It also refers to the 24 *tattvas*, eight *aiśvarayas*, three kinds of *pramāṇa* the eight kinds of *siddhi*, the *panchatanmātra*, the *pancha-mahābhūta*, *ahn* the *shaḍ-rasa*. It was edited and translated by Dr. Sudarshana Devi Singhal, the daughter of the late Prof. Ragha Vira.

(k) *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* is a *Mahāyāna* text, a somewhat free Javanese version of a Sanskrit original interspersed with a number of original Sanskrit verses, composed in the ninth century A.D. It is an important work expounding the fundamental principles of *Mah yāna* Buddhism.

(l) Another *Mahāyāna* text *K amahāynan Mantrayāna* contains a short preambie, followed by forty-one Sanskrit verses with an Old-Javanese commentary. *Mantrayāna* has been identified with the *Mantrayāna* which is a Tāntric development of the *Yoga* phase of Buddhism. It teaches that one can attain Buddhahood by the mysterious knowledge of *kāya*, *vāk* and *chitta*.

It is quite clear from the obove account of literary texts and Sanskrit inscriptions that a large number of Sanskrit texts were imported into Java and Bali and were regularly studied. With the loss of contact with India, the study of Sanskrit suffered a steady decline and Sanskrit texts have also mostly disappeared. But the priests of Bali, which is now the only region inhabited by the Hindus, still recite the Sanskrit *mantras*.

3. *Indo-Javanese or Old-Javanese Literature*

We may now proceed to give an account of the Old-Javanese literature as the best evidence of the wonderful role of Sanskrit in the whole range of literary activity in Java. Generally speaking, Old-Javanese literature shows the following characteristics. Its poetry follows rules of Sanskrit metre, its subject-matter is derived mainly from Sanskrit literature, and it has a strong predilection for using Sanskrit words and quoting Sanskrit verses. There is almost an equal number of Sanskrit and Old-Javanese words in a Dictionary of Old Javanese.

The Old-Javanese translations of the two Epics and a large number of poetical works based on themes furnished by them, known as *kakawin* (from *Kavi*) meaning *kavya*, form the mos important part of this literature.

There are 1200 different versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in **Java**, the most well-known being that attributed to Yogīsvara, composed probably in the first half of the tenth century A.D. It has been shown by a comparative study that two-thirds of the

Rāmāyaṇa kakawin follow the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* and the remaining portion also is not a translation of the Sanskrit Epic but an adaptation of it. The *Uttarakāṇḍa kākawin* is an independent work but may be regarded as the prose adaptation of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki.

There are several Old-Javanese poetical works or *kakawins* based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. One is *Sumanasāntaka* (killed by flowers) the theme of which is supplied by the story of Indumatī's death immortalised by the great poet Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa*. It was composed in the first decade of the twelfth century A.D. The *Hariśraya* deals with the fight between Vishṇu and various demons like Vajramushṭi, Vīrupāksha, Māli, and Sumāli. The *Arjunavijaya* deals with the fight between Rāvaṇa and Arjuna-sahasrabāhu. It was composed after 1378 A.D.

Special attention may be drawn to the fact that various Sanskrit metres have been used in the *Rāmāyaṇa kakawin* and it has been suggested that as the *Bhaṭṭikāya* was composed with a view to teaching grammar, the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* was written for the purpose of teaching the different Sanskrit metres to the Javanese.

The *Mahābhārata* was no less popular in Java than the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the preface to old manuscripts of the Epic, a verse composed in the *Vasantatilaka* metre, a list is given of the eighteen *parvas*. The list agrees with that of the Calcutta and Bombay editions, and followed in the Critical edition with this difference that the Anuśāsana-parva is not mentioned as a separate parva but merged in the Śānti-parva, whereas a new parva. the Gadā-parva, has been added between Śalya and Sauptika-parvas. It may be mentioned that in India, too, a certain recension of the *Mahābhārata* has even 24 *parvas*, and the Javanese version may be regarded as one of the early divisions into parvas current in India. The Old-Javanese *Mahābhārata* is not a translation of the original Sanskrit epic, but partly an abridged paraphrase and partly a condensed and very rarely a literal translation of the original. Occasionally the original Sanskrit verses are added.

The theme of a large number of poetical works called *kakawins*, as mentioned above, has been supplied by the *Mahābhārata*. The first original work, named *Arjuna-vivāha* heralded the golden age of this category of literature under the patronage of a succession of rulers of the dynasty of Airlangga, a powerful king ruling at Kaḍiri in Eastern Java. It was written by Mpu Kaṇva under the patronage of Airlangga (1019-1042 A.D.). It deals with an episode from the *Mahābhārata* in which Arjuna helps the gods in their fight against Nivātakavacha.

Two other poetical works may be referred to the beginning of the Kaḍiri period. The first in *Krishnāyāna* by Triguṇa. It deals with the famous episode of the abduction of Rukmiṇi by Krishna and his consequent fight with Jarāsandha.

We next come to the most flourishing period of Old-Javanese literature, *viz.*, the reign of Jayabhaya (*c.* 1135-1157 A.D.). The greatest work of this period, which has all along enjoyed a very high degree of reputation, is *Bhāratāyuddha*, an independent work based on the Udyoga-parva, Bhishma-parva, Droṇa-parva, Karṇa-parva, and Śalya-parva of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*; in other words, those parts of the great epic of India which deal with the great war. It is written in simple but epic style, and its grandeur, according to eminent critics, is comparable to that of the Greek epics. It was written by Mpu Seḍah in 1157 A.D. by order of the Kadirian king Jayabhaya. According to one tradition, the poet incurred royal displeasure and the work was completed by Mpu Panuluh. Mpu Panuluh, who completed the *Bhārata-yuddha*, evidently during the reign of Jayabhaya, also composed another poetical work, *Harivaṁśa*, during the same reign. This book, like its Indian prototype, deals with the abduction of Rukmiṇī by Krishna and the consequent war with Jarāsandha and the Pāṇḍavas who helped the latter. This last episode is not in the original Indain work.

Kāmeśvara II (1185 A.D.) maintained the brilliant literary traditions of the Kaḍirian court. The most famous work written under his patronage was *Smaradahana*. This work is based on the well-known episode of the burning of Smara or the God of Love by Śiva, which has been so masterly dealt with by Kālidāsa in his immortal work *Kumārasaṁbhava*.

The famous *Bhomakāvya* is also attributed to the period of Kāmeśvara II. It describes the defeat of Indra and other gods by Bhoma, or Naraka, son of Pṛithivi, and finally his death at the hands of Krishna.

Navaruchi, a very popular work in Bali, describes the exploits of Bhīma.

Next to Epic literature, reference should be made to the Purāṇas. The *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* is undoubtedly the most important of this class of Old-Javanese literature. It closely follows the model of Indian Purāṇas, including the preamble. We are told that while Adhīsimakrishna was ruling the earth, Romaharshaṇa, a pupil of Vyāsa, came to the Naimisha forest and recited the Purāṇa, composed by Vyāsa. It closely follows an original Sanskrit text somewhat different from the present one and its language and style resemble those of the Old-Javanese *Mahābhārata*. Sanskrit words are profusely used and in some pages the ratio of the Sanskrit and Javanese words is 4:9. There is a *kakawin*, divided into 18 cantos, based on the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*, There are, besides, a large number of prose works belonging to the Purāṇa class from the point of view of subject-matter.

In addition, there was a vast Old-Javanese literature dealing with various topics which cannot be referred to in detail. A few important works may be mentioned. One of these, *Sāra-samuchchaya*, recently published from New Delhi, is a book of the *Smriti* type containing 517 Sanskrit verses, 321 of which has been traced by the editor, the late lamented Prof Raghu Vira in the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* and a few from the *Panchatantra-Hitopadeśa*.

There are several other works of this class, such as the *Ślokāntara*, recently edited by Mrs Sharada Rani, the daughter-in-law of Prof Raghu Vira, consisting of 83 Sanskrit verses, each followed by on Old-Javanese commentary, *Nītiśāra*, a collection of 120 Sanskrit verses inculcating moral precepts, maxims, wise saying, etc., *Vratīśāsana* consisting of 37 Sanskrit verses (also edited by Mrs Sharada Rani).

IV. Loan Words

Even the very brief account of Old-Javanese literature given above would convey a fair idea of the nature, extent and quality of Sanskrit studies in Java and Bali. Though we possess no direct evidence of a similar nature in respect of the rest of Indonesia, indirect evidence is supplied by the study of loan-words in different parts of Indonesia. This has been summed up by a recent writer as follows on the authority of European scholars :

> "Sanskrit loan-words have however made deep in roads not only into the vocabulary of Java, but also into that of Malacca, Palembang and contiguous areas of Sumatra, a part of Borneo, several coastal regions of Celebes and contiguous hinterland. Even remote people like the Papuans of North Guinea have some Sanskrit words in their vocabulary. It has, however, been recognised that its impact has been far reaching in Old-Javanese. Gonda has pointed out that, in the Old-Javanese-Dutch Dictionary of Juynboll there are 6790 Sanskrit words, while the number of Old-Javanese words does not exceed 6925. In the Buginese vocabulary of South Celebes, there are some Sanskrit words denoting business, utensils, religion, *āgama*, administration and social life. In the Bari language of Central Celebes, in Bimanese, Rotinese, Mangarai (Flores), Sasak (Lombok) and Busang (Central Celebes), we find a number of Sanskrit loan-words. If we proceed further to the Philippines, we shall detect in Tagalog about 250 Sanskrit words, of which the majority refers to trade, commerce and material objects".

If we now turn our attention to the islands laying to the West of Java, we shall indeed find many Sanskrit words in the Achehnese vocabulary. Gonda has stated that there are 155 Indian words in Karo-Batak and 175 in Toba-Batak of Sumatra. The names of Indian week days are current among these people, even as some terms of astronomical and astrological significance. To the further South, in the island of Nisa, there are at least 60 Sanskrit words. The neighbouring islands of Mentaway and Simalur have also received, through Nisa, some Sanskrit words. Even such a remote island as Madagascar has adopted the names of Indian months. Reference may also be made to the adoption of Indian script in Indonesia as a further evidence of the Sanskrit studies in this region :

> "The art of writing in ancient Indonesia and Malaysia was derived in the initial stage, from southern India, as a study of the inscriptions of these places would testify. Out of the Pallava-Grantha characters was evolved the Old-Javanese

script, of which the oldest peculiarities appear in the Dinaya inscription of 760 A.D. The Pre-Nāgarī script also appears in the eighth century A.D. and proto-Bengali script, some centuries later on but these were severely limited in time and space, and they did not permanently affect the evolution of a national script for the countries constituting the Malayo-Indonesian world. The Pallava-Grantha characters, as adapted in Java, led to the development of Sundanese, Madurese and Balinese scripts. The Sumatran script of the Middle Ages ,as we know it, has also evolved out of this script. The Batak handwriting is merely a variation of the Indonesian Pallava script. The Rejang and Lampong scripts of South Sumatra bear striking resemblance to the Old-Javanese script which evolved out of Pallava-Grantha characters."

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